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Emilius; or, an essay on education

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

N.

Consacré au Tems.

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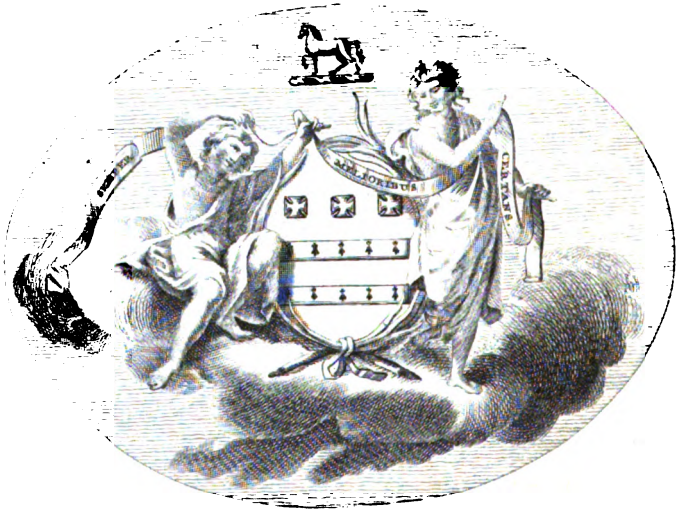

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on education. Translated by Mr. Nugent. 2 vol., 8vo, plates, contemporary calf. £5 10 0 *For J. Nourse: London*, 1763

∴ FIRST EDITION of the first English translation. Many of Froebel's ideas were originated by Rousseau. Harris, p. 125, Monroe, V, 218.

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EMILIUS;

OR, AN

ESSAY on EDUCATION.

VOLUME I.

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TRAITÉ D'ÉDUCATION.

Consacré au Tems.

J. V. Schley inv. et fecit. 1762.

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EMILIUS;

OR,

AN ESSAY

ON

EDUCATION.

By JOHN JAMES ROUSSEAU,

CITIZEN of GENEVA.

Translated from the French

By Mr. NUGENT.

Sanabilibus ægrotamus malis: ipsaque nos in rectum genitos natura, si emendari velimus, juvat.

SEN. de Irâ, lib. 2. c. 13.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON,
Printed for J. NOURSE and P. VAILLANT, in the Strand.
MDCCLXIII.

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THE AUTHOR's PREFACE.

THIS collection of reflections and remarks, made without order or method, and almoſt without connection, was begun to pleaſe a good and ſenſible mother. I at firſt deſigned only a ſhort plan in the compaſs of a few pages, but my ſubject drawing me on in ſpite of myſelf, this plan inſenſibly became a kind of regular ſtructure, too large indeed for what it contains, but too ſmall for the importance of the argument. I have long heſitated about the publication of this performance; and often have I been made ſenſible, while I was employed in writing it, that the ſcribbling of a few pamphlets, does not render us equal for the compoſition of a methodical work. After ſome vain efforts to do better, I thought it my duty to ſend it abroad in its preſent form, imagining it is of importance, that the attention of the public ſhould be turned this way; and

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though my ideas ſhould happen to be wrong, if I give birth to right ones in others, I ſhall not have entirely loſt my labour. A man who from the obſcurity of his retreat, hazards his thoughts among the public, without any puffers to extol, or party to defend them, without even knowing what people think, or what they ſay, need be under no apprehenſions, that, if he deceives himſelf, others will embrace his errors without examination.

I ſhall not enlarge on the importance of a good education, neither ſhall I attempt to prove that the uſual method deſerves to be exploded; a thouſand others have done it before me, and I am not fond of filling my book with what is known to all the world. I ſhall only obſerve, that there has been, time immemorial, one common cry againſt the eſtabliſhed practice, and yet no body has attempted to propoſe a better. The literature and ſcience of the preſent age tend much more to pull down, than to build up anew. People cenſure in the moſt maſterly ſtrain; but to propoſe improvements, they muſt aſſume another, leſs agreeable to philoſophic pride. Among ſo many writings, which, as it is pretended, have no other end than the public utility, that which is of the moſt important uſe, the art of forming *Man*, is ſtill forgotten. My ſubject was entirely new, even after Mr. Locke's treatiſe; and I am much afraid it will ſtill be ſo after mine.

People

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People know nothing of infancy; the farther they proceed on the falſe ideas they have entertained of that ſtate, the farther they deviate from the point. Even the ableſt maſters attach themſelves to what is of importance for men to know, without conſidering what is adapted to the capacity of children. They always ſeek for the *man* in the *child*, without reflecting what he is before he grows up to manhood. This is the ſtudy to which I have moſt applied myſelf, in order, that if my ſyſtem ſhould prove falſe and chimerical, the public may ſtill improve by my obſervations. I may have formed a very ill judgment of the methods to be uſed; but I believe, I have formed a very juſt one of the ſubject, on which you are to work. Begin then with a more careful ſtudy of your pupils; for it is very certain you do not know them. If you read this book with that view, I cannot believe but it will be attended with ſome advantage.

With reſpect to what may be called the ſyſtematical part of this Eſſay, which is nothing more than the progreſs of nature; this will moſt perplex the reader: it is here I ſhall, doubtleſs, be attacked; and perhaps they will not be to blame. People will imagine, that inſtead of reading a treatiſe on education, they are peruſing a collection of reveries. What is here to be done? I write not from the ideas of others, but from my own. I ſee not as other men, and have been long reproached for it. But is it in my power to give myſelf other eyes,

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or to impreſs other ideas on my mind? No. It depends on me, not to be ſelf-conceited, nor to imagine that I alone am wiſer than all the world. It depends on me, not to change my ſentiments, but to diſtruſt them: this is all that is in my power, and this I have performed. If I ſometimes deliver myſelf in a poſitive tone, it is not with a view of impoſing on the reader, but that I may ſpeak to him as I really think. Why ſhould I propoſe to him in the form of a doubt, that of which I harbour not the leaſt doubt myſelf? I exactly expreſs what paſſes in my own mind.

In freely expoſing my ſentiments, I am ſo far from aiming at any authority, that I always ſubjoin my reaſons, that people may weigh *them*, and judge *me*. But though I would not obſtinately defend my ideas, I do not believe myſelf the leſs obliged to propoſe them; for thoſe maxims, in which I am of a contrary opinion to other people, are far from being indifferent. It is of importance to know their truth or falſehood, as on them depend the happineſs or miſery of the human race.

I am inceſſantly exhorted to propoſe what is practicable. This in reality, is deſiring me to propoſe what is already practiſed; or at leaſt, to propoſe mixing ſomething good, with the evil that at preſent exiſts. Such a project, on this occaſion, is more chimerical than mine; for in this unnatural mixture, the good is ſpoilt, and the

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the evil not removed. I had rather follow intirely the eſtabliſhed practice, than adopt a good one by halves: man is not ſo contradictory a being as to aim at the ſame time, at two oppoſite extremes. Fathers and mothers, that is practicable, which you are willing to perform. May I anſwer for your will?

In projects of every kind, there are two things to be conſidered; in the firſt place, the abſolute goodneſs of the project itſelf; and in the ſecond, the facility with which it may be executed.

With reſpect to the firſt, to render the project allowable and capable of being put in practice, it is ſufficient that its goodneſs conſiſts in the nature of the thing itſelf; as here, for example, that the education propoſed be ſuitable to our ſpecies, and well adapted to the human heart.

The ſecond conſideration depends on the relations that ſubſiſt in certain circumſtances; on relations that are accidental, and which conſequently are not neceſſary, and may be infinitely varied. Thus a particular education may be practicable in Swiſſerland, and not in France; another may be ſo among the common people; and a third among perſons of high rank. The greater or leſs facility in the execution, depends on a thouſand circumſtances, which it is impoſſible to determine any otherwiſe than by a par-

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ticular application of the method propoſed, to ſuch and ſuch a country or condition. Now all theſe particular applications not being eſſential to my ſubject, do not enter into my plan. Others may employ themſelves about theſe things as they pleaſe, according to the different country or ſtate each may have in view. It is ſufficient for me, that wherever children are born, they may be formed after my method: when that is done, they are formed after the beſt manner poſſible, both for themſelves and others. If I do not fulfil this my engagement, I am doubtleſs to blame: but if I do, they will be to blame to require more; for this is all I propoſe.

THE

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THE

TRANSLATOR's

PREFACE.

THE education of youth, is a ſubject of ſuch general importance, that every attempt to facilitate or improve it, muſt be acceptable to the public. Hence it is that ſo many diſcourſes have been written in different countries and ages for the direction of early ſtudies, and ſo many ſchools and academies opened for general inſtruction. Yet in ſuch a multiplicity of writings, we have as yet felt the want of a regular ſyſtem, or complete treatiſe of education, containing the neceſſary and moſt uſeful rules, not only for the learning, but for the health and morals of young people. It is true, Plato has delivered ſome beautiful precepts in his Republic, relating to the care of children, and Plutarch has left us a diſcourſe on education; yet the former does not profeſſedly handle

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the ſubject, but only as it relates to good order and government; and the latter gives us but a very imperfect ſketch, hardly deſerving the name of a treatiſe. Beſides, they both aimed rather at the morals, than the learning of youth, in which reſpect, Lycurgus's inſtitution was alſo very deficient. Among the Romans we meet with nothing of the kind, at leaſt of claſſic authority, except perhaps the three firſt books of Quintilian; but his view being to make his pupil a complete orator, he confines his inſtructions chiefly to the article of eloquence. Among the moderns, and eſpecially in the Engliſh language, there are many who have treated of the different branches of ſpeculative learning, but few have attempted this in ſo copious a manner, as to comprize a general courſe of education. Mr. Locke's eſſay on that ſubject is almoſt the only tract deſerving the public notice, and comes neareſt our deſign; yet it is but a rough draught, conſiſting only of looſe hints written at different times, and without any great order or connection. This the author himſelf ingenuouſly acknowledges, and at the ſame time wiſhes, that ſome abler hand would undertake the taſk anew, and oblige the public with a regular treatiſe of education.

The fulfilling ſo arduous and important a taſk was reſerved for the ingenious M. Rouſſeau, an author who has already merited the public applauſe by many ingenious performances. His qualification for ſuch an undertaking, no one will diſpute, as he was not only furniſhed with the erudition proper for the initiation of youth, but had likewiſe the virtues and the

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the experience requiſite to form a complete preceptor. From ſo able a hand, nothing leſs than a maſter-piece could be expected.

The plan of this performance, which has made ſo great a noiſe in moſt parts of Europe, is altogether different from any treatiſe of education hitherto publiſhed. The author ſuppoſes an imaginary pupil, named Emilius; and himſelf to be the perſon entruſted with the care of his education, from the time of his nativity, till he ſettles in the world. He attends the young gentleman with the utmoſt aſſiduity and care from his cradle to his nuptials; and aſſiſts him with the neceſſary directions for his general improvement. Upon his arriving at years of maturity, he introduces him to the acquaintance of an agreeable young lady, named Sophia, whoſe affection he gains by his amiable behaviour. After a variety of affecting circumſtances, Emilius has the happineſs at length of being united in wedlock to the engaging object of his wiſhes. The whole is conducted in an hiſtorical narrative, and affords not only the utility of a didactic piece, but likewiſe the entertainment of an ingenious novel.

The author has ſpared no pains to embelliſh his work with all the elegance of language, and luxuriancy of imagination. His nervous ſtile diſplays thoſe touches and animated ſtrokes which characteriſe the new Eloiſa. There is ſomething nobly wild and extravagant in his remarks, yet, extremely acute and ſagacious, ſuch as plainly evince him to be a man of genius. His flights are elevated and ſublime,

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lime, though ſometimes deficient in nicety and correctneſs. His natural fire, and impetuoſity of imagination, have oftentimes hurried him into a paradoxical way of thinking; of which he has been accuſed in his other performances. But it is the opinion of many, that his frequently falling into paradoxes, was not ſo much owing to an affectation of ſingularity, as to a manly ſpirit of liberty, and to his deſire of ſhaking off the yoke of prejudice, and governing himſelf in every reſpect by the rules of right reaſon. Be that as it may, it is certain, his conceptions were too vaſt, and his imagination too lively, to be confined within the bounds preſcribed to the vulgar herd of writers. In ſhort, we may juſtly apply to him, the obſervation made by Mr. Addiſon, that very few writers make an extraordinary figure in the world, who have not ſomething in their way of thinking or expreſſing themſelves, that is peculiar to them, and intirely their own.

We could have wiſhed, however, that the author had delivered himſelf more cautiouſly upon an article, in which the public opinion deſerves to be treated with the utmoſt deference and reſpect. The profeſſion of faith, in the ſecond part of this work, has created him many enemies, who conſider him as no friend to revealed religion. He ſeems indeed to have given but too much grounds for this ſuſpicion, by laying ſo great a weight on authority and example, and ſuppoſing the faith of children, as well as of many men, to be intirely an affair of geography. This was alſo the caſe of Monſ. Chorron,

ron, in his famous Treatiſe of Wiſdom, *wherein he has advanced ſeveral ſtrange notions on this ſubject, which ſeem to have been adopted by our author.*

For inſtance, he ſuppoſes the embracing of religion in general to be a matter of cuſtom and neceſſity, and not the effect of deliberate choice. Thus the divine origin of religion is ſet aſide, and makes place for human authority. But it is very certain the caſe was very different at the firſt planting of Chriſtianity. This religion was introduced into the world under all poſſible diſadvantages, and its eſtabliſhment was one of the moſt amazing events that ever happened. For the people in thoſe days, had ſenſe and underſtanding, as well as thoſe of the preſent age; and the human heart was ſubject to the ſame irregularity of paſſions. They had the ſame pride and conceit in their own wiſdom, to refuſe their aſſent to myſteries ſuperior to human comprehenſion; the ſame vanity and opinion of temporal grandeur, to look upon the belief of a crucified Saviour as the greateſt of follies; the ſame inordinate appetites and vicious habits to oppoſe the precepts of chaſtity and ſobriety, ſelf-denial and mortification; the ſame attachment to the world, and tenderneſs for their perſons to prevent their expoſing their lives and fortunes on the account of religion. Yet in ſpite of all theſe difficulties, Chriſtianity proved triumphant, which it was impoſſible for it to have effected,*

* Here we have made uſe of Dr. Stanhope's arguments againſt Monſ. Charron.

without

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without the extraordinary interpoſition of providence.

But after this religion had ſurmounted ſo many difficulties, and triumphed over the obſtinacy of its perſecutors, ſurely the multitude of its profeſſors, and the peaceable embracing of it from the example of parents, ought not to derogate from its authority. Is it not very unreaſonable that Chriſtianity ſhould ſuffer, becauſe people no longer labour under the ſame difficulties in embracing it? The handing of it down in families to different generations, is a plain conſequence of the law of nature. For it would be impoſſible that parents ſhould have that affection, which becomes their character, unleſs they adopted every lawful method of putting their children into the ſame way of happineſs as themſelves.

But whatever ſtrength Chriſtianity may derive, from the early initiation of children into that perſuaſion, it is very certain that this is not the baſis, on which the aſſent of adult perſons is founded. For it is every one's duty, upon coming to years of diſcretion, to be ready to give a reaſon of the hope that is in him; *and conſequently to examine and ſee, as far as opportunity and capacity will permit, whether his perſuaſion is built on rational motives of aſſent, to the end that he may have the conſolation either of being better eſtabliſhed in the truth, or of retracting his error. Where this examination is not complied with, it betrays a ſhameful neglect, and a total diſregard to truth in matters of the greateſt moment. We have not, therefore, thought proper to ſuppreſs*

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ſuppreſs any part of this work, as Chriſtianity ſtands on a firmer foundation, than to be afraid of any objections, even from its moſt formidable opponents. This was the conduct which the learned Dr. Stanhope obſerved in the above cited treatiſe of Monſ. Charron, which he has rendered intirely from the original, with remarks on ſuch paſſages, as ſeem moſt capable of miſleading the reader. This example we have in ſome meaſure copied, having ſubjoined a few notes in the ſecond volume, relative to the argument of Chriſtianity, to ſhew that the objections of the vicar of Savoy contain nothing new, and have been often anſwered by our own learned divines. In particular, we have referred the reader to Dr. Clarke's excellent Diſcourſe on the truth and certainty of the Chriſtian revelation.

This I apprehend was all that could be expected to prevent any ill conſequence that might ariſe from the exceptionable parts of this work. We have the higheſt veneration for the Chriſtian religion, and ſhould be very ſorry it received any injury, from a performance of great merit, evidently calculated to promote the firſt principles of humanity and virtue. Not that we ſuppoſe our author himſelf to be a diſbeliever of revealed religion; but as we before obſerved, he is ſometimes rather too ſlighty, and unguarded in his expreſſions. But if we look into the parallel he draws in the ſecond volume between Chriſt and Socrates, it is impoſſible to conceive that a per-*

* Yes, if Socrates lived and died like a philoſopher, Chriſt lived and died like a God. Shall we ſay that the evangelical hiſtory

a perſon who gives ſo beautiful a character of the ſacred founder of Chriſtianity, can be an enemy to his religion. To conclude, we hope that the manly freedom of the author, and his diſintereſted regard to the rights and privileges of mankind, will recommend him to that protection abroad, which he has forfeited at home; and plead his defence in a country, where liberty, baniſhed from moſt other corners of the globe, ſeems at length to have fixed her reſidence.

hiſtory was invented at pleaſure? My friend, inventions are not made after that manner; and Socrates's hiſtory, of which no body entertains any doubt, is not ſo well atteſted as that of Chriſt. Vol. II. p. 88.

And in another place he ſays: I acknowledge to you, that the majeſty of the ſcriptures aſtoniſh me, and the ſanctity of the goſpel fills me with rapture.

ADVER-

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The reader will please to observe, in regard to the passage of Augustus's family, p. 373. Vol. I. that his daughter Julia did not die in a desart island, but at Rhegium; and his grand-daughter Julia, whom the author must mean, by her infamous character, ended her days by a natural death. It is true, his grand-daughter Agrippina starved herself in prison, under the tyrant Tiberius, but she was a princess of great virtue. Drusus, her son, who eat the flocks of his bed, was Augustus's great grandson.

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An Explanation of the Plates.

The Plate intitled *A Treatiſe on Education*, conſecrated to time, repreſents the Geniuſes offering this Treatiſe to him, and is deſigned as a Frontiſpiece to the work.

I. The Plate prefixed to the firſt book, exhibits Thetis dipping her ſon into the river Styx, to render him invulnerable. See Vol. I. page 20.

II. The Plate prefixed to the ſecond book, exhibits Chiron training up the young Achilles to running. See Vol. I. p. 187.

III. The Plate prefixed to the third book, exhibits Hermes engraving the elements of ſciences on columns. See Vol. I. p. 266.

IV. The Plate belonging to the fourth book, exhibits Orpheus inſtructing mankind in the worſhip of the gods. See Vol. II. p. 62.

V. The Plate prefixed to the fifth book, repreſents Circe reſigning herſelf to Ulyſſes, whom ſhe was not able to tranſform into a brute. See Vol. II. p. 330.

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EMILIUS;

OR, AN

ESSAY on EDUCATION.

BOOK the FIRST.

EVERY thing is perfect, coming from the hands of the Creator; every thing degenerates in the hands of man. He forces a ſpot of ground to nouriſh the productions of a foreign ſoil; or a tree to bear fruit by the inſition of another: he mixes and confounds climates, elements, ſeaſons: he mutilates his dog, his horſe, his ſlave: he inverts the nature of things, only to disfigure them: he is fond of deformity, and monſtrous productions: he is pleaſed with nothing, as it is framed by nature, not even with man: we muſt break him to his mind, like a managed horſe; we muſt faſhion him to his taſte, like the trees or plants of his garden.

Were it not for this culture, things would ſtill be worſe; for our ſpecies will not bear being faſhioned by halves. In the preſent conſtitution of things, man abandoned from his birth to his own guidance among the reſt of ſociety, would be a moſt monſtrous animal. Prejudices, authority, neceſſity, example, and all the ſocial inſtitutions with which we

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are ſurrounded, would ſtifle the voice of nature, and ſubſtitute nothing elſe in its place. Nature would be to him like a plant or ſhrub, that ſhoots up ſpontaneouſly in the highway, but is ſoon trodden down and deſtroyed by travellers.

To thee do I therefore addreſs my diſcourſe, O fond and careful mother (1), whoſe ſenſe has led thee out of the common tract, and taught thee to pre-

(1) The early part of education is the moſt important, and undoubtedly the province of the fair ſex: had the author of nature deſigned it ſhould belong to men, he would have ſupplied them with milk, to ſuckle their children. Therefore in your treatiſes of education, I would ever adviſe you to addreſs yourſelves to the women; for beſides their being at hand to watch more narrowly over their children, than it is in the power of our ſex; and beſides their having a greater influence over them than we, they have moreover a greater intereſt in the ſucceſs that may ariſe from their endeavours; for moſt widows are almoſt entirely at the mercy of their children, and then it is they make them feel either the good or bad effects of their manner of education. The laws, ſo attentive to property, and ſo neglectful of perſons, becauſe their object is not virtue, but the peace and tranquillity of the ſtate, have not inveſted mothers with a ſufficient authority. And yet their condition is better aſcertained than that of fathers; their duties are more painful; their cares are more conducive to the good order of families; and generally ſpeaking they have a ſtronger attachment to their children. Caſes are poſſible, where a ſon behaving diſreſpectfully to his father, may in ſome meaſure be excuſed; but if, upon any occaſion whatever, a child ſhould be ſo unnatural as to be wanting in the reſpect due to his mother, to her who gave him birth, who ſuckled him in his infancy, and who, for a ſeries of years, neglected herſelf merely to take care of him, ſuch a wretch ought to be ſent out of the world immediately, as a monſter and diſgrace to human nature. Mothers, you will ſay, are apt to ſpoil their children. In this, no doubt, they are to blame; but not ſo much perhaps as you, who corrupt them. The mother is deſirous her child ſhould be happy, and happy from this inſtant. So far ſhe is in the right; and, if ſhe be miſtaken in regard to the means, you ſhould undeceive her. But fathers, by their ambition, their avarice, their over-great care, or their neglect, and inſenſibility, do a hundred times more miſchief to children, than mothers by their fondneſs. It will be proper, however, to explain the meaning in which I take the word *mother*, which ſhall be done hereafter.

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ſerve the tender plant from the injurious blaſt of human opinions! Be ſure to water the young ſprig before it dies; it will one day yield ſuch fruit, as muſt afford thee infinite delight. Take care to erect an early incloſure around the infant's mind; others may mark out the circumference, but to thee alone it belongs to fix the barrier.

Plants are faſhioned by culture, and men by education. Were man to be born of full ſize and ſtrength, theſe would avail him nought, till he learnt to make uſe of them: nay, they would rather redound to his prejudice, by preventing others from lending him aſſiſtance (2); ſo that being left to himſelf, he would die miſerably, before he knew his wants. We are apt to complain of the ſtate of infancy; not reflecting, that if man had not commenced an infant, the human ſpecies muſt have periſhed.

We are all brought into the world feeble and weak, yet we ſtand in need of ſtrength; we are deſtitute of every thing, yet we want aſſiſtance; we are ſenſeleſs and ſtupid, yet we have occaſion for judgment. All that we have not at our birth, and that we ſtand in need of at the years of maturity, is the gift of education.

Education is either from nature, from men, or from things. The developing of our faculties and organs, is the education of nature; that of men is the application we learn to make of this very developing; and that of things is the experience we acquire in regard to the different objects by which we are affected.

Mankind are all formed by three ſorts of maſters. The pupil, in whom their inſtructions contradict each other, is ill-educated, and will never be ſelf-conſiſtent. He, in whom they all coincide on the ſame

(2) Reſembling them in his external form, but deprived of ſpeech, as well as of the ideas conveyed by that channel, he would be incapable of making them underſtand his need of their aſſiſtance, nor could he ſignify it to them by any viſible mark.

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point, and tend to the ſame end, he alone may be ſaid to hit his aim, and to live conſiſtently. In ſhort, he alone is well-educated.

Now, of thoſe three different educations, that of nature is independent on us: that of things depends on us only in particular reſpects: that of men is the only one really in our power, and this in a hypothetical ſenſe; for who can pretend to direct every word and action of thoſe who have the care of an infant?

No ſooner therefore does education become an art, than it is almoſt impoſſible it ſhould ſucceed; ſince the concurrence of circumſtances neceſſary for its ſucceſs, is in no man's power. All that we can poſſibly do, by dint of care, is, to come near the mark, more or leſs; but he muſt be very fortunate indeed who hits it.

But what mark is this? you will ſay: the very ſame that nature has in view. This we have juſt now proved; for ſince the concurrence of the three educations is neceſſary for their completion, the other two muſt be directed towards that which is no way ſubject to our control. But perhaps the word *nature* may bear, on this occaſion, too indeterminate a ſenſe; we ſhall therefore endeavour to fix it.

Nature, you will ſay, is nothing more than an habit. But what do you mean by that? Are not there habits contracted by mere force, which cannot be ſaid, however, to ſtifle nature? Such, for inſtance, is the habit of plants, conſtrained in their vertical direction. Reſtored to their liberty, they ſtill retain the direction they have been forced to aſſume; yet the ſap has not changed its original impreſſion; and if the plant continues to vegetate, its prolongation once more becomes vertical. It is the ſame in regard to human inclinations. So long as we continue in the ſame ſtate, we may retain ſuch inclinations as reſult from habit, and are leaſt natural to us; but as ſoon as the ſituation changes, the habit ceaſes, and

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and nature revives. Education ſurely is nothing more than habit. And yet are there not ſome people, who altogether forget, and others, who retain, their education? Whence this difference? If we are to confine the word *nature* to habits conformable to nature, ſurely we may ſpare ourſelves the trouble of this nonſenſical expreſſion.

We are all born with a certain degree of ſenſibility, and from the very firſt inſtant of our exiſtence we are differently affected by the objects that ſurround us. As ſoon as we acquire, if I may ſo ſpeak, a conſciouſneſs of our ſenſations, we are diſpoſed, either to purſue or to flee from the objects that produce them; at firſt as they are agreeable or diſpleaſing to us; in the next place, in proportion to the agreement or diſagreement we find between ourſelves and the objects; and laſtly, purſuant to the judgment we form of them, from the idea of happineſs or perfection acquired by reaſon. Theſe diſpoſitions are enlarged and ſtrengthened, in proportion as we become more ſenſible and intelligent: but reſtrained by habit, they are altered more or leſs by opinion. Before this alteration, they are what I diſtinguiſh in man by the name of *nature*.

To theſe primitive diſpoſitions every thing muſt therefore be referred; and this might eaſily be done, were the three ſorts of education no more than different; but what are we to do, when they happen to be oppoſite? When, inſtead of educating a man for himſelf, you want to educate him for others, the harmony or agreement is then impoſſible. Being obliged either to combat nature or ſocial inſtitutions, you muſt make your option, whether you are to form the man or the citizen; for you cannot do both.

Every partial ſociety, when it is cloſe and compact, deviates greatly from the general link; great lovers of their country are rude, and uncivil to ſtrangers; they look upon them only in the common

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light as men, and as unworthy of their regard (3). This inconveniency is inevitable, but of no great conſequence. The point is, to behave kindly towards our fellow-ſubjects. Abroad the Spartans were ambitious, avaricious, and unjuſt: while diſintereſtedneſs, equity, and concord reigned within their walls. Beware of thoſe coſmopolites, who pore over old books in ſearch of duties, which they neglect to fulfil within their own communities. Thus you will ſee a philoſopher admiring the Tartars, in order to be excuſed from loving his neighbours.

Man in his natural ſtate is all for himſelf; he is the numerical unit, or the abſolute integer, that refers only to himſelf, or to his likeneſs. Man in the civil ſtate is a fractionary unit, who depends on the denominator, and whoſe value conſiſts in his relation to the integer, namely, the body politic. Among ſocial inſtitutions, thoſe are the beſt, which are the beſt adapted for diveſting man of his natural ſtate; for depriving him of his abſolute, to give him a relative, exiſtence; in ſhort, for transferring *ſelf*, to a common unit; to the end, that each individual may no longer conſider himſelf as one, but as part of an unit, and have no ſenſe or feeling but in conjunction with the whole. A Roman citizen was neither Caius nor Lucius, he was a Roman: but he loved his country excluſive of himſelf. Regulus pretended to be a Carthaginian, as he was become the property of his maſters. In the quality of a ſtranger, he refuſed to take his ſeat in the Roman ſenate; and before he would comply, he inſiſted upon receiving orders from a Carthaginian. With indignation he beheld the endeavours uſed to ſave his life. He carried his point, and returned triumphant to Carthage, to re-

(3) Hence it is that wars between republics are more cruel than thoſe between monarchies. But if wars between kings are moderate, their peace is terrible; it is much better to be their enemy, than their ſubject.

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ſign his laſt breath amidſt the moſt exquiſite tortures. Here we behold a man, of quite a different ſtamp from thoſe of the preſent age.

The Lacedæmonian Pedarete preſents himſelf for admittance into the council of the three hundred; but is rejected. His excluſion fills him with joy, as he finds that there are in Sparta three hundred more worthy than himſelf. This joy I ſuppoſe to be ſincere, and there is room to think it was; ſuch is the ſpirit of a citizen.

A Spartan dame, having five ſons in the army, with impatience expected the account of an engagement. An Helote arrived expreſs, when trembling ſhe enquired the event of the day. Your five ſons, madam, are ſlain. Vile ſlave, is that the queſtion I aſked you? Madam, we have gained the victory. The mother upon this haſted away to the temple, and returned thanks to the gods. Here we behold a female citizen.

He who in the civil order would fain make nature always predominant, knows not what he would be at: ever in contradiction with himſelf, ever fluctuating between inclination and duty, he would neither ſhew himſelf a man nor a citizen; he would be of no ſervice either to himſelf or to others. He would be a man of the preſent age; a Frenchman, an Engliſhman, a burgher; in ſhort, nothing at all.

In order to be ſomething, to be one's ſelf, and always the ſame, we ſhould act as we ſpeak; we ſhould ever be determined in regard to the cauſe or part we are to eſpouſe; we ſhould eſpouſe it warmly, and follow it cloſely. I want to ſee this prodigy. I want to know whether he is a man or a citizen, or how he goes to work, in order to become both at the ſame time.

From theſe objects, neceſſarily oppoſite, two contrary forms of inſtitutions ariſe; the one public and common, the other particular and domeſtic.

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Should you be desirous of framing an idea of public education, you must peruse Plato's Republic. It is not a political work, as some are too apt to imagine, who judge of books only by their titles. It is the best treatise on education that ever was written.

When any one would refer us to the region of chimeras, they usually mention Plato's Institutions. Had Lycurgus consigned his to writing, I should find it much more chimerical. Plato has only purified the human heart, Lycurgus has stripped it of all natural sentiment.

Public institution exists no more, neither can it possibly ever exist; because where a country is no more, there must be an end of citizens. These two words, *country* and *citizen*, ought to be erased out of modern languages. The reason I know full well, but I do not think proper to mention it, being foreign from my subject.

Those ridiculous establishments, known by the name of colleges (4), cannot be considered as a public institution. Neither do I look upon a secular education in that light, because this, by tending to two contrary ends, misses both: it is fit only to render men double and deceitful; as it seems to refer every thing to public good, and yet calculates every thing for private emolument. Now these appearances being practised by all the world, impose upon no body; therefore they are so much time and trouble lost.

From these contradictions arises that which we incessantly feel within ourselves. Dragged by nature,

(4) At the academy of Geneva, and the university of Paris, there are professors whom I love and esteem, and whom I look upon as very capable of giving proper instructions to youth, were they not obliged to comply with the established custom. One of them I advise to publish his plan of reformation. Perhaps an attempt will be made to redress the evil, upon finding that it is not past remedy.

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and by man, into contrary purſuits, and conſtrained to divide ourſelves between theſe different impulſes, we follow one of a compound nature, which leads us to neither end. Thus contending and fluctuating the whole courſe of our lives, we conclude the ſcene without having been ever ſelf-conſiſtent, and without being of the leaſt utility either to ourſelves or to our neighbours.

There remains laſtly the domeſtic education, or that of nature. But of what ſervice can a man be to others, who is ſolely educated for himſelf? Perhaps, if the twofold object which we have in view could be reunited in a ſingle point, by removing the contradictions of man, we ſhould remove a great impediment to his happineſs. In order to judge of him, we ſhould ſee him quite formed; we ſhould obſerve his inclinations, view his movements, and trace his footſteps; in a word, we ſhould be acquainted with man in his natural ſtate. I am apt to flatter myſelf, that ſome progreſs will be made in this reſearch, after the peruſal of theſe papers.

In order to form this extraordinary man, what have we to do? A great deal, without doubt; we are to hinder any thing from being done. When we are only to ſail againſt the wind, the whole buſineſs is to lavèer; but if the ſea runs high, and we want to tarry in a place, we muſt caſt anchor. Take care, young pilot, that thy cable does not break, or, before thou art aware, thy veſſel drags her anchor.

In the ſocial order, where all places are marked down, each man ought to be brought up to his ſtation. If a private perſon, formed for his own condition of life, attempts to get out of it, he is no longer of any ſervice. Education is of no uſe any farther, than as people's fortune agrees with the vocation of their parents; in every other caſe, it is prejudicial to the young pupil; if on no other account, becauſe of the prejudices which he imbibes from thence. In Egypt,

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Egypt, where the ſon was obliged to follow his father's profeſſion, there was at leaſt a certain aim or deſign in their education; but in Europe, where the ranks alone are continued, and the men keep continually changing, you cannot tell whether, in bringing up your ſon to your own calling, you do not act counter to his intereſt.

Mankind being all upon an equality in the natural ſtate, their common vocation is the ſtate of man; and whoever has had a proper education for the former, cannot miſbehave in the different circumſtances relative to that ſtate. Whether our pupil be brought up to the army, to the church, or to the bar, little does it import; before the vocation received from his parents, nature has deſigned him for human life. To live is the trade I want him to learn. When he is taken from under my care, I allow you he will be neither a magiſtrate, nor a ſoldier, nor a prieſt; he will be firſt of all a man; and ſuch he will prove himſelf, in caſe of neceſſity, as well as any perſon whatſoever; in vain will fortune endeavour to diſplace him; he will ever occupy that poſt which becomes him beſt. *Occupavi te, fortuna, atque cepi, omneſque aditus tuos intercluſi, ut ad me aſpirare non poſſes* (5).

Our real ſtudy is that of the human condition. He who knows beſt how to bear the proſperous and adverſe turns of fortune, is, in my opinion, the beſt educated. Whence it follows, that real education conſiſts leſs in theory than in practice. We begin to gain inſtruction upon our firſt coming into the world; our education commences with our exiſtence; and our firſt preceptor is our nurſe. The word *education* had a different ſignification among the ancients, from what we give it; for it implied food or nouriſhment. *Educit obſtetrix*, ſays Varro, *educa-nutrix, inſtituit pædagogus, docet magiſter* (6). Whence

(5) Tuſcul. V. (6) Non Marcell.

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I infer that education, inſtitution, and inſtruction, are three things as different in regard to their object, as a governeſs, a preceptor, and a maſter. But theſe diſtinctions are miſunderſtood; in order to be well conducted, a child ought to follow no more than a ſingle guide.

We muſt therefore render our views more general, and conſider our pupil as a man in the abſtract, and as a man expoſed to all the accidents and viciſſitudes of human life. Were mankind to be born with an attachment to one particular ſoil, were the ſame ſeaſon to continue throughout the year, were each man to be confined to his fortune or ſtation, ſo as never to have it in his power to change it, the preſent practice would be in ſome reſpects commendable; the infant educated according to his own condition, and never departing from it, would not be expoſed to the inconveniencies of another ſtate. But if we conſider the mutability of human affairs, as well as the reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit of the preſent age, by which there enſues a total ſubverſion of things in one or two generations; is it poſſible to conceive a more ſtupid method, than that of bringing up a child as if he was never to ſtir out of the room, and to be ever ſurrounded with his ſervants. If the poor thing ſets but his foot on the ground, or comes down but a ſingle ſtair or ſtep, he is in the utmoſt danger. This is not teaching him to bear pain, but to feel it.

We think no more than of the preſervation of our infant, but that is not ſufficient. We ought to learn him how to preſerve himſelf as a man, to defy the unproſperous ſtrokes of fortune, to live, if there ſhould be occaſion, on the ſnows of Iceland, or on the burning rock of Malta. In vain do you uſe precautions to ſave him from dying, for die he muſt: and were his death not to be forwarded by your too great care of his health, it would ſtill be miſapplied. The point is not ſo much to keep him from dying, as to make him

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him live. Life is not confined to reſpiration, it implies alſo to act; it implies the uſe of our organs, of our ſenſes, of our faculties, and of every part of ourſelves, by which we are rendered ſenſible of our exiſtence. The man who has lived the longeſt, is not he who has told the greateſt number of years; but he who has had the greateſt ſenſibility of life. Such a one is interred at a hundred years of age, who died at his nativity. He would have been a gainer in dying young; at leaſt he would have lived till the day of his death.

The whole ſum of human wiſdom conſiſts in ſervile prejudices: our cuſtoms are nothing more than ſubjection and reſtraint. The member of the civil ſtate is born, lives, and dies in ſlavery; at his birth he is ſown up in ſwaddling cloaths, at his death he is nailed in a coffin; ſo long as he preſerves the human form, he is fettered by different inſtitutions.

It is ſaid, that ſeveral midwives pretend to give a better ſhape to new-born infants, by compreſſing their heads. Is it poſſible that ſuch an abſurd practice ſhould be ſuffered. Our heads are ſuppoſed to be miſhapen, though the handywork of the deity. Their external frame muſt be mended by midwives, and the internal by philoſophers. The Caribbees are happier by one half than we.

" No ſooner is the infant releaſed from his mo-
" ther's womb, no ſooner does he enjoy the liberty
" of moving and ſtretching his limbs, but he is
" confined by new bandages. He is ſwathed, and
" laid on the bed, with his head fixed, his legs ex-
" tended, and his arms hanging down his ſides: he
" is environed with fillets and rollers, which render
" it impoſſible for him to change his ſituation.
" Well it is for him, if he be not confined ſo as to
" prevent him from breathing; and if they do not
" make him lie on one ſide, to the end that the wa-
" ter which he ought to diſcharge by the mouth,

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" may run out of itſelf; for he is not at liberty to " turn his head about, in order to make it run out " the eaſier (7)."

The new born babe wants to ſtretch and move his limbs, in order to draw them out of that contracted ſtate, in which they have been ſo long confined. They are ſtretched by the nurſe it is true; but they are not ſuffered to ſtir; his head itſelf is fixed by ſtay-bands; one would think they are afraid leſt the child ſhould have the ſemblance of a living creature.

Thus the impulſe of the internal parts of the body tending to increaſe, finds an inſuperable obſtacle to the motions required by nature. The infant is inceſſantly employed in uſeleſs efforts, which exhauſt his ſtrength, or retard his progreſs. He was leſs confined, leſs compreſſed in the placenta, than he is in his ſwaddling cloaths: I ſee not what advantage he has gained by coming into the world.

The inaction and reſtraint to which a child's limbs are confined, cannot but reſtrain the circulation of the blood and humours, and hinder him from gaining ſtrength, from growing, and improving his conſtitution. In places where theſe extravagant precautions are not uſed, the men are all large, ſtrong, and well-proportioned (8). The countries where children are tied up in ſwaddling cloaths, ſwarm with diſtorted perſons, with the lame, the hump-backed, the ricketty, and ſuch like objects of deformity. Leſt the body ſhould be disfigured by voluntary motions, they are in a hurry to ſpoil its ſhape, by ſqueezing it in a preſs. They deprive the poor infants of the uſe of their limbs, in order to prevent them from laming themſelves.

So cruel a reſtraint may very naturally be ſuppoſed to influence their temper of mind, as well as the

(7) Hiſt. natur. par Buffon, tom. 4.
(8) See the 14th note.

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conſtitution of their body. Their firſt ſenſation is that of pain; they find nothing but impediments to every motion they want: more wretched than a fettered criminal, they make uſeleſs efforts, they fret, they break out into tears. Their firſt ſounds, you will ſay, are thoſe of grief; I verily believe it; you thwart them from their birth; the firſt gift they receive from you, is chains; the firſt they experience, is torment. Having nothing in their own power but their voice, can they forbear making uſe of it, to vent their complaints? They cry, becauſe you hurt them; and were you confined as they are, your voice would be raiſed to a much louder pitch than theirs.

Whence comes this fooliſh and abſurd cuſtom? From another equally abſurd, and contrary to nature. Since mothers, neglecting their duty, no longer think fit to ſuckle their own offſpring, they are obliged to commit them to the care of hirelings, who finding themſelves in ſome meaſure the mothers of children, for whom they have no natural affection, give themſelves as little trouble about them as poſſible. A child at his full liberty muſt be carefully looked after; but when he is tied faſt and ſafe, they throw him into any corner without minding his cries. Provided there are no proofs of the negligence of the nurſe, provided the child breaks neither an arm nor a leg, what does it ſignify whether he periſhes, or continues infirm all the reſt of his days? His limbs are preſerved at the expence of his body; and let what will happen, the nurſe is never blamed.

Thoſe fond mothers, who thus get rid of their children, to reſign themſelves to the amuſements of the town, have no idea of the treatment the ſwathed infant meets with in a country village. Upon the leaſt accident that happens, he is ſuſpended on a nail, like a bundle of old cloaths; and while the nurſe coolly

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coolly attends to what affairs ſhe has in hand, the poor babe continues in a ſtate of crucifixion. Children found in ſuch a ſituation are always obſerved to be quite livid in the face; for the compreſſion of the breaſt hindering the circulation of the blood, it aſcends to the head; and the poor infant is imagined to be very quiet, becauſe he has not ſtrength to cry. I know not how many hours a child can continue in that condition without being bereft of life; but I think he cannot hold it long. This, I apprehend, is one of the greateſt inconveniencies of ſwaddling cloaths.

In anſwer to this, it is pretended, that children at full liberty might wriggle themſelves into wrong poſtures, and fall into movements capable of prejudicing the right conformation of their limbs. This is one of the idle arguments ſuggeſted by falſe wiſdom, but never confirmed by experience. Among that vaſt number of children, who, in nations more ſenſible than ourſelves, are allowed the full liberty of their limbs, there never was an inſtance of one that has hurt or maimed himſelf. They cannot give ſuch a force to their motions, as to render them dangerous; and when they happen to aſſume a poſture which does violence to their little limbs, pain ſoon lets them know that they muſt change it.

We have never yet bethought ourſelves of ſwaddling cloaths for puppies or kittens; and yet does there reſult from thence any inconveniency in regard to thoſe animals? Children are, I grant you, more heavy and unwieldy; but they are in proportion more feeble and helpleſs. Scarce have they a power to move, how then is it poſſible they ſhould do themſelves harm? Were they laid on their backs, they would die in that poſture, like the tortoiſe, without being able to turn themſelves.

The women, not ſatisfied with refuſing to ſuckle their children, have taken it into their heads to refuſe bearing them: the conſequence is very natural. As

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ſoon as the maternal ſtate grows burdenſome, they find a way to get rid of it at once: they perform an uſeleſs taſk, in order to have it always to begin again; and the allurement deſigned for the propagation, they pervert to the deſtruction of their ſpecies. This uſage, added to the other cauſes of depopulation, ſeems to forebode the approaching fate of Europe. The ſciences, arts, philoſophy, and manners, which it engenders, will ſoon convert it into a deſart. It will be peopled with ſavage beaſts, without having greatly changed its inhabitants.

I have ſometimes been witneſs to the little arts of thoſe young women, who made as if they wanted to ſuckle their children. They get themſelves ſollicited to relinquiſh this fancy; they make their huſbands, their phyſicians, but above all, their mothers interpoſe. A huſband, who would dare give his conſent to his wife's ſuckling her child, would be an undone man. They would repreſent him as an aſſaſſin, that wanted to get rid of his wife. Huſbands, if you are prudent, ſacrifice paternal love to that of peace; happy that you can find women in the country more continent than your wives! Happier ſtill, if the leiſure which the latter obtain, is not deſigned for others beſides yourſelves!

This duty of mothers is a point beyond all doubt; but conſidering the contempt in which they hold it, a diſpute may ariſe, whether it is equal for the children to be nurſed with the parent's, or with any other woman's milk? This is properly a medical queſtion; and I look upon it as determined already to the deſire of the ladies: for my part, I ſhould incline to think, that it is far preferable for the infant to ſuck the breaſt of a ſound nurſe, than that of a diſtempered mother, were there any new diſeaſe to be apprehended from the very blood of which he is formed.

But is the queſtion to be conſidered only in a phyſical light, and has not the babe as much need of his mo-

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mother's care, as of her breaſt? Other women, nay, the brutes themſelves, might adminiſter milk to him, which ſhe refuſes; but they cannot ſupply the want of maternal ſollicitude. She who nurſes another's child, inſtead of her own, is a bad mother; and how can it be expected ſhe ſhould be a good nurſe? She may become ſuch; but very ſlowly; habit muſt change nature; and the infant, who is ill attended, will have time enough to periſh, before his nurſe can behold him with the fondneſs of a parent.

This very advantage is the cauſe of an inconveniency, ſufficient to diſcourage every ſenſible woman from putting her children out to nurſe: it is that of ſharing, or rather of alienating the maternal right; of ſeeing her child as fond, and fonder, of another woman, than of herſelf; of perceiving that the affection he preſerves for his real mother is a favour, while that for his adoptive parent is a duty: for where I have met with maternal ſollicitude, ought not I to return it with filial affection?

The way of remedying this inconveniency is, to inſpire your ſon with a contempt for his nurſe, by treating her as a downright ſervant. When her time is expired, the child is taken from her, or the nurſe is diſmiſſed; by the coldneſs with which ſhe is received, ſhe is diſcouraged from coming to ſee her foſter-ſon. A few years elapſed, he ſees her no more, he has no further knowledge of her. The mother, who expected to ſucceed in the nurſe's place, and to repair her neglect by cruelty, finds herſelf miſtaken. Inſtead of forming a tender ſon of an unnatural foſter-child, ſhe accuſtoms him to ingratitude; ſhe teaches him to contemn the womb that gave him life, as well as the breaſt that preſerved it.

Long might I dwell on this point, were it not diſagreeable to make fruitleſs repetitions. It is of more extenſive influence, than is generally imagined. If you have a mind to reduce all the world to their

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primitive duties, begin with mothers; you will be ſurprized at the alterations which ſuch a reform muſt produce. The preſent corruption flows from that original ſource of depravity; the whole moral order is changed; the ſentiments of nature are extinguiſhed in every breaſt; the internal œconomy appears leſs animated; the beautiful ſcene of a growing family no longer has any attraction in the eye of a huſband, nor makes any impreſſion on ſtrangers; the mother, whoſe children are never ſeen, is leſs reſpected; no longer have the family any reſidence; habit ceaſes to cement the ties of blood; there are no more fathers, mothers, children, brothers, or ſiſters; they hardly know one another: how then ſhould they be capable of affection? Each begins to think only for himſelf. When once a houſe is become deſolate, they muſt amuſe themſelves abroad.

But let mothers vouchſafe to ſuckle their children, a reformation of manners will quickly enſue; and the ſentiments of nature will revive in every breaſt: the ſtate will be new ſtocked with people; this is the main point; and in this alone the whole reform will center. The pleaſures of a domeſtic life are the beſt antidote againſt vice. The noiſe of children, hitherto conſidered as importunate, becomes agreeable; it renders the parents more neceſſary, and more dear to each other, and ſtrengthens the conjugal union. So long as the family are chearful, and in ſpirits, domeſtic cares conſtitute the chief occupation of the wife, and the agreeableſt amuſement of the huſband. Therefore from the amendment of this abuſe alone a general reformation would follow, and nature would ſoon recover all its rights. Let the women but once more become mothers, and the men will ſoon ſhew themſelves fathers and huſbands.

But reflections are all thrown away; the very ſurfeit of wordly pleaſures is not productive of this effect. The women are no longer mothers; neither

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are they desirous of appearing again in that light. Nay, were such their inclination, they would scarcely have it in their power, to follow it: the contrary custom prevailing, every woman would be obliged to combat the opinion of all her acquaintance; and these are in a confederacy, to prevent the revival of a practice so generally exploded.

Yet there are young virtuous women, who, bidding defiance to the tyranny of custom, and the obloquy of their sex, with intrepidity discharge this tender office, imposed upon them by the law of nature. May their number increase, and may they be attended with those blessings, which were designed for such as fulfil this duty! If any stress can be laid on consequences deduced from the plainest arguments, and on observations which hitherto have never been contradicted, I venture to predict to those worthy mothers, that they will be happy in a constant attachment on the part of their husbands; in filial affection on the part of their children; in the public respect and esteem; in bringing forth their children without any accident or ill consequence; in a firm and sound state of body; and that they will moreover have the pleasure of seeing themselves imitated by their own daughters, and by other ladies, as patterns of domestic virtue.

No mother, no child: these duties are reciprocal, and if not rightly fulfilled on one side, they will be neglected on the other. The infant ought to love his mother, before he knows it to be an obligation. If the voice of blood be not strengthened by habit and care, it is soon suppressed; and the heart dies, as it were, before it has felt the vital warmth: these are the first steps out of the common track of nature.

Another deviation, but into a contrary path, is when a woman, instead of being deficient in maternal care, carries it to excess; when she makes an idol of her child; when she increases his bodily

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weakneſs, to prevent him from feeling it; when hoping to exempt him from the laws of nature, ſhe ſkreens him from every attack of pain; not reflecting, that though ſhe may preſerve him during the preſent moment from a few inconveniencies, ſhe expoſes him to a train of accidents and dangers, and that it is a barbarous precaution to extend the weakneſs of infancy to the cares and fatigues of manhood. Thetis, deſirous of rendering her ſon invulnerable, dipped him, according to the fable, into the waters of Styx. The allegory is beautiful and clear. The cruel mothers, of whom we have been ſpeaking, act quite the reverſe: by plunging their children into effeminacy, they render them more liable to hardſhip; they open their pores to diſeaſes of every kind, which they muſt inevitably feel, as ſoon as they come to years of maturity.

Obſerve nature, and follow the ſteps pointed out by that prudent dame. She trains up children to conſtant exerciſe; ſhe hardens their conſtitution by every kind of trial; ſhe initiates them by times into the ſchool of adverſity. The cutting of their teeth throws them into fevers; colic pains fling them into convulſions; hooping coughs almoſt ſuffocate them; worms torment them; plethories corrupt their blood; fermentations ariſe in the whole maſs, and are productive of divers eruptions. Almoſt the intire ſtage of infancy conſiſts of dangerous maladies; and one half of the children that come into the world, depart this life before they attain their eighth year. The infant, after he has undergone theſe trials, acquires ſtrength; and as ſoon as he is in a capacity to make a proper uſe of life, the vital principle is conſolidated.

Such is the rule of nature; and why ſhould you act counter to her? Do not you perceive, that by thinking to mend her, you deſtroy her work, and fruſtrate her intentions? To conform externally to her internal

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nal operations, is, according to you, redoubling the danger: quite the contrary, by that means you divert and leſſen it. Experience ſhews us, that a great many more children die, who have been bred in delicacy, than others. Provided they do not exceed the meaſure of their ſtrength, there is leſs riſk in uſing them to exerciſe, than to inaction and indolence. Inure their bodies to the intemperance of the ſeaſons, climates, and elements; to hunger, thirſt, and fatigue; dip them in the waters of Styx. Before the habit of body is eſtabliſhed, you can give it what determination you pleaſe, without any inconveniency; but when once it is ſettled, every little alteration is attended with danger. An infant will bear ſuch changes, as it would be impoſſible for a man to ſupport: the fibres of the former being ſoft and pliant, eaſily take whatever bent you pleaſe to give them; but thoſe of an adult perſon, being more hardened, cannot without violence depart from the inclination or habit they have once received. A child may therefore be rendered robuſt, without expoſing his life, or his health; and even, if there were any riſk of that kind, we ſhould not heſitate a moment. As theſe are hazards inſeparable from humanity, can we do better than confine them to that ſtage of life, in which the odds are leaſt againſt us?

As the child grows up, his life becomes more precious. Beſides the value of his perſon, we muſt take into the account the care he has coſt us; and to the loſs of life, we muſt add his own ſenſe of death. Therefore when we watch for his preſervation, we ſhould chiefly have an eye to his riper years; he muſt be armed againſt the evils of youth, before he reaches that ſtage; for if the value of life increaſes till the period of its utility, what a folly is it to preſerve the infant from a few evils, only to heap a greater number upon the man? Are theſe the leſſons of a maſter?

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The fate of man is to ſuffer at all times. The very care of his preſervation is attended with trouble and pain. How happy are we we in our infancy in knowing none but phyſical evils! Evils by far leſs ſevere, and leſs painful than the others; and more rarely the cauſe of renouncing our exiſtence. People do not kill themſelves in a fit of the gout; none but the tortures of the mind produce deſpair. We pity the ſtate of infants, while it is our own we ought to pity. Our greateſt evils flow from ourſelves.

An infant ſqualls the moment he comes into life; and his early days are ſpent in crying. One time he is dandled and wheedled; another time he is huffed and beaten to make him quiet. Either we do what is agreeable to him, or we require of him what is agreeable to us: either we ſubject ourſelves to his fancy, or we make him ſubmit to ours: there is no medium; he muſt either give or receive orders. Hence his firſt ideas are thoſe of empire and ſervitude. Before he knows how to ſpeak, he commands; before he is able to act, he obeys; and ſometimes he is chaſtiſed, before he is capable of knowing, or rather of committing an error. Hence his young breaſt is early imbued with paſſions, which are afterwards imputed to nature; and when we have been at the trouble of making him vicious, we complain of his vices.

Thus does a child paſs ſix or ſeven years of life in the hands of women, a victim to their caprice and his own: and after they have learnt him a few trifles, that is, after charging his memory with words which he is incapable of underſtanding, or with things that are of no manner of uſe to him; after ſtifling nature by paſſions, which we ourſelves have raiſed in his little breaſt; this factitious being is conſigned into the hands of a preceptor, who unfolds the artificial ſhoots, which he finds already quite

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quite formed, and teaches him every thing, except to know himſelf, to draw from his own fountain, to underſtand life, and to be happy. The child becomes a ſlave, and a tyrant, replete with knowledge, but devoid of ſenſe, and alike infirm in body and mind: being thus introduced into life, he exhibits his weakneſs, his inſolence, and vices, ſo as to excite our commiſeration of his folly and of human perverſity. But we are miſtaken; this is a man framed according to our own fancy: man is otherwiſe formed by nature.

Are you then willing he ſhould preſerve his original form? Be careful to preſerve it for him, from the very moment he comes into the world. As ſoon as he is born, ſeize him; and never let go your hold till he is a man; for there is no other way to ſucceed. As the real nurſe is the mother, ſo the father is the real preceptor. Let them agree in the order of their functions, as well as in their ſyſtem: let the child paſs from the hands of one parent to thoſe of the other. He will be better educated by a judicious father, though of a limited capacity, than by the ableſt maſter in the world: for zeal is a better ſupplement to abilities, than abilities to zeal.

But buſineſs, functions, duties..... Alas, what duties! The firſt and chief of all, without doubt, is that of a father (9). No wonder that a man, whoſe wife has diſdained to ſuckle her offspring, ſhould not

(9) When we read in Plutarch, that Cato the cenſor, who made ſo great a figure at Rome, brought up his ſon himſelf from the cradle, and with ſuch particular care, that he left every other buſineſs, to ſee the nurſe, that is, the mother, dandle him upon her knee, and waſh him: when we read in Suetonius, that Auguſtus, the ſovereign of the whole globe, which he had ſubdued by his arms, and which he governed by his wiſdom, taught his grandchildren to write and to ſwim, as alſo the elements of the ſciences, and that he had thoſe children continually about him: we cannot help laughing at the ſilly fellows of that age, who ſpent their time in ſuch trifles; men, no doubt, of too ſhallow underſtandings, to conduct ſuch important affairs, as the ſtateſmen of the preſent age.

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vouchſafe to charge himſelf with their education. There cannot be a more beautiful picture in life than that of a private family; but the miſtake of one feature ſpoils the whole piece. If the mother is too infirm to be a nurſe, the father is too buſy to be a preceptor. The children, removed to a diſtance, and diſperſed into boarding-ſchools, convents, and colleges, fix their affection abroad; or, to ſpeak with more propriety, they come home with the habit of placing their affection on no particular object. Scarce do brothers and ſiſters know one another. When they meet together in ceremony, they may behave politely, but ſtill they behave as ſtrangers. As ſoon as the intimacy between relations is at an end, as ſoon as domeſtic ſociety ceaſes to be the chief pleaſure of life, we muſt have recourſe to corrupt morals to ſupply the defect. Where is the man ſo ſtupid as not to ſee the conſequence?

A father, that only begets and maintains his children, fulfils but a third of his duty. He owes men to his ſpecies, ſociety to ſociable creatures, and citizens to the ſtate. Every man who is able to diſcharge this threefold duty, and does not diſcharge it, is guilty of a crime; and perhaps more guilty than when he diſcharges it only by halves. He who is not able to fulfil the duties of a father, is not intitled to have children. Neither poverty, nor labour, nor human reſpect, can excuſe us from maintaining our children, and bringing them up ourſelves. You may believe me, reader, that what I ſay is true. Should a perſon of real ſenſibility neglect this duty, I may venture to predict, he will long bewail his miſtake, and ever remain diſconſolate.

But what does this wealthy parent do, this buſy father of a family, who is obliged, according to his own repreſentation, to reſign the education of his children to ſtrangers? He pays a hireling for diſcharging an office which is grown a burden to himſelf.

Venal

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Venal ſoul! doſt thou imagine to procure another father for thy ſon with money? Be not miſtaken; thou doſt not even give him a maſter, but a ſervant; and he will ſoon make him ſuch another as himſelf.

A great deal has been ſaid in regard to the qualifications of a good governor. The firſt thing I ſhould require of him, and that alone ſuppoſes many others, is not to be a mercenary. There are profeſſions of ſo noble a nature, that a perſon cannot follow them from a lucrative view, without ſhewing himſelf unworthy of them: ſuch are the officer and preceptor. Who then is to educate my child? Already have I ſaid it, thyſelf. I cannot do it. Thou canſt not! .... Get then a friend to do it for thee. I ſee no other reſource.

A governor! O what ſublimity of ſoul is requiſite for this office! ..... In truth, to form a man, you muſt either be a father, or more than a man. Yet this is an employment generally committed to mercenary tutors.

The more we reflect, the more difficulties will ariſe in regard to this article. The governor ought to be educated on purpoſe for his pupil, the ſervants ought to be trained for their maſter, every one that comes near him ought to receive ſuch impreſſions as are proper to be communicated by them to him; in ſhort, there ſhould be a ſcale of educations, mounting God knows how high. How is it poſſible for a child to be properly educated by a perſon, who has not had a proper education himſelf?

Is this rare mortal no where to be found? I cannot tell. In this degenerate age, who knows to what point of virtue a human ſoul is ſtill capable of attaining? But let us ſuppoſe this prodigy has been found. By conſidering what he ought to do, we ſhall ſee what he ought to be. I think I may previouſly affirm, that a parent, entirely ſenſible of the value of a good governor, would reſolve to do without

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out one; for it would coſt him more trouble to find out ſuch a perſon, than in diſcharging that office himſelf. Therefore if he has a mind to procure a friend, let him educate his ſon for that end; he ſaves himſelf the trouble of looking out for one elſewhere, and nature has already done half the buſineſs.

A perſon of high rank, but with whom I have not the pleaſure of being acquainted, made a propoſal to me of undertaking the education of his ſon. No doubt but he did me ſingular honour; yet far from complaining of my refuſal, he ought to commend my diſcretion. Had I accepted his offer, and been miſtaken in my method, he would have miſſed his aim; had I ſucceeded, it would have been worſe. His ſon would have renounced his title; he would no longer have thought fit to be a prince.

Too well am I convinced of the high duties of a preceptor, and too ſenſible of my incapacity, ever to accept of any ſuch employ, from what quarter ſoever it may be offered; even the connexion of friendſhip would only be another motive with me to refuſe it. I have a notion, that, after peruſing this book, very few will be tempted to make me any ſuch offer; and I beg of thoſe, whom a temptation of this kind ſhould happen to ſeize, to deſiſt from the uſeleſs purſuit. Once in my life I made an eſſay in this art, which convinced me I was altogether unfit for it; and my ſituation would ſerve for an excuſe, even had I abilities for the undertaking. This public declaration I thought incumbent upon me to make, for the ſatisfaction of ſuch as ſeem to have ſo good an opinion of me, as to believe me ſincere, and my reſolutions well-founded.

Incapable of performing a taſk, of all others the moſt uſeful, I ſhall venture on one of an eaſier nature; excited by the example of many others, I ſhall not put my hand to work, but my pen to paper;

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and inſtead of acting, I ſhall venture to ſay, what is proper on the occaſion.

I am not ignorant, that in enterprizes of this kind, the author, ever eaſy in regard to ſyſtems, which he is not obliged to follow, advances a multitude of precepts, beautiful in theory, but not reducible to practice; and that as he mentions no particular caſes or examples, even thoſe things which happen to be practicable, are of no ſort of uſe, for want of pointing out their right application.

Hence have I thought proper to pitch upon an imaginary pupil; to ſuppoſe myſelf to have the age, ſtate of health, knowledge, and other abilities, requiſite for the care of his education; to be entruſted with that employ from the very inſtant of his birth, to the years of maturity, when he will no longer have occaſion for any other guide than himſelf. This method appears to be of ſome uſe, to prevent an author, diffident of his abilities, from loſing himſelf in viſionary ſchemes: for whenever he deviates from the beaten road, he has only to make a trial of his own practice upon his pupil, and he will ſoon perceive, or the reader will perceive for him, whether he follows the natural progreſs of childhood, and the beaten path of humanity.

Such is the method which, amidſt innumerable difficulties, I have thought fit to purſue. To prevent the book from ſwelling to no purpoſe, I have been ſatisfied with laying down principles, the truth of which ſhould be obvious to all the world. But in regard to the rules, which might ſtand in need of proofs, I have applied them all to my Emilius, or to other examples, and have particularly pointed out in what manner thoſe rules were capable of being reduced to practice. Such at leaſt is the plan I propoſed to follow; it is the reader's buſineſs to judge whether I have ſucceeded.

From

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From thence it comes to paſs, that in the beginning I have ſaid very little of Emilius, becauſe my fundamental maxims of education, though contrary to thoſe which generally obtain, are nevertheleſs evident in ſuch a degree, as it is very difficult for a reaſonable man to refuſe his aſſent to them. But, in proportion as I advance, my pupil, educated in a different manner from the reſt of the world, is no longer a child of the ordinary ſtamp; but requires a particular regimen for himſelf. Then he appears more frequently on the ſtage, and towards the cloſe of his inſtitution I do not loſe ſight of him one moment, ſay what he will, till he has no longer the leaſt need of my aſſiſtance.

I do not take any notice here of the qualifications of a good governor, I ſuppoſe them; and I ſuppoſe myſelf likewiſe that accompliſhed perſon. In the peruſal of this work, the reader will ſee how liberally I behave towards myſelf.

One obſervation I ſhall make (contrary to the common opinion) viz. that an infant ought to have a young governor; and even as young as a perſon of prudence can be ſuppoſed. I ſhould be glad he were an infant, if poſſible, to the end that he might be a companion to his pupil, and attract his confidence, by partaking of his amuſements. There is not a ſufficient communication between infants and perſons advanced in years, for them to form a ſtrong connexion at ſo great a diſtance. Children are apt to flatter, but never have a ſincere love, for old people.

Some would have a governor to have already finiſhed a courſe of education. This is too much; one man cannot educate more than one; if it is requiſite for him to have had the experience of a firſt courſe, in order to undertake a ſecond with any proſpect of ſucceſs, what right has he to attempt the firſt?

With

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With more experience a perſon might do better, but will not do it. Whoever has diſcharged this office once, and gone through the whole fatigue of it, never will be tempted to engage in it again; and if he has miſcarried the firſt time, this is a bad omen for the ſecond.

There is a wide difference, I allow, between attending a youth four years, and conducting him five and twenty. You are for giving a governor to your ſon, aleady grown up to his hand; but I am for his having one before he is born. Your man may change his pupil at every luſtrum; but mine is never to have more than one. You diſtinguiſh between the preceptor and the governor; another piece of nonſenſe! Do you make a diſtinction between the diſciple and the pupil? There is no more than one ſcience for children to learn; the duties of humanity. This ſcience is but one, and whatever Xenophon may pleaſe to ſay in regard to the education of the Perſians, it is not divided. Yet the maſter or teacher of this ſcience ſhall be diſtinguiſhed by me with the name of governor, rather than with that of preceptor; becauſe his province is not ſo much to teach, as to conduct. He is not to give precepts, but to point them out to his pupil.

If to chuſe a governor ſo much precaution is requiſite, ſurely a governor muſt be permitted likewiſe to chuſe his pupil, eſpecially when the point is about propoſing a model to others. A choice of this kind can regard neither the genius nor the character of the infant, who is known only when the buſineſs is finiſhed, and whom I adopt before he is born. Had I power of chuſing, I would pitch upon a child of common capacity, ſuch as I ſuppoſe my pupil to be endowed with. Education is neceſſary only for ordinary geniuſſes, it is the forming of theſe that ought to ſerve for an example to their equals. Superior geniuſſes riſe of themſelves, do what you will.

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The climate or ſoil is not a matter of indifference in regard to the cultivation of the human mind; our ſpecies attain to their full perfection no where but under the temperate zone. In extreme climates the diſadvantage is viſible. Man is not planted like a tree in a particular ſpot or country, to abide there all his life; he who ſets out from one of the extremes to the other, is obliged to travel twice as far, as he who departs from the middle, in order to arrive at the ſame point.

Let the inhabitant of a temperate country ſucceſſively run through the two extremes, his advantage is ſtill evident: for although he may be modified as much as he who goes from one extreme to the other, yet he deviates leſs by one half from his natural conſtitution. A Frenchman may live in Guinea and in Lapland; but a Negro will not live thus at Torneo, nor a Samoyeid at Benin. It ſeems likewiſe that the organization of the brain is leſs perfect at both extremes. Neither the Negroes nor the Laplanders have the ſenſe of the Europeans. If I deſign therefore that my pupil ſhall be an inhabitant of the earth, I muſt take him in a temperate zone, in France for inſtance, preferable to any other country.

In the north, mankind waſte a great deal of time and labour on an ungrateful ſoil: in the ſouth, the land is ſo fruitful, that they employ but very little of their time in its culture. Hence ariſes another difference, which renders ſome laborious, and others contemplative. Society in one and the ſame place preſents us with the image of theſe differences between the poor and the rich. The former till an ungrateful ſoil, and the latter inhabit a fruitful country.

The poor man has no need of education; that of his condition is forced upon him, he can have no other: on the contrary, the education which the rich derive from their ſituation, of all others, ſuits them leaſt, both in regard to themſelves, and to ſociety.

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Beſides, a natural education ought to qualify a perſon for all human conditions: now is it leſs abſurd, to bring up a poor man's ſon, as if he were born to a fortune, than a rich man's ſon, as if he were born in poverty? for in proportion to the number of perſons in thoſe two ſtates, there are more ruined than attain to preferment. Let us therefore pitch upon a wealthy pupil; we ſhall be ſure at leaſt of making one man the more, whereas a poor perſon may become a man of himſelf.

For the ſame reaſon, I ſhall not be ſorry, that Emilius be of noble parentage. This will ſtill be ſnatching a victim from human prejudice.

Emilius is an orphan: for it little imports whether his father and mother be living. Entruſted with their duties, I ſucceed to their rights. He ought to honour his parents, but to obey me only. This is my firſt, or rather only agreement.

To the above, however, I muſt add another, which flows from thence; that we ſhall not be parted, but with our mutual conſent. This is an eſſential clauſe, and I would even have the pupil and his governor to conſider themſelves ſo far inſeparable, that one common fate muſt end both their days. As ſoon as they are certain of their ſeparation, even at a diſtance; as ſoon as they foreſee the moment, when they are to be of a different family, they begin to eſtrange themſelves from each other: each forms his little ſyſtem apart, and employing their thoughts about the time when they will be no longer together, they are diſpleaſed with their preſent union: the diſciple regards his maſter only as a ſcourge; the maſter looks upon his diſciple as a burden, which he is impatient to get rid of: they both ardently wiſh for the moment of their ſeparation, and as there never was any real attachment between them, the one muſt be defective in vigilance, the other in docility.

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But as ſoon as they look upon themſelves in the light of perſons, who are to ſpend their days together, it behoves them to conciliate each other's love; and this very conſideration creates a mutual endearment. The pupil does not bluſh to follow a friend, with whom he is to continue in connexion at the age of maturity: the governor is aſſiduous in his care, which is to redound hereafter ſo much to his own advantage, and the merit transfuſed into his pupil, is a ſtock laid up for the future benefit of the preceptor.

This previous agreement ſuppoſes a mother happily delivered, an infant well formed, vigorous and ſound. A father has no choice, and ought to give no preference to his children, whom he has received from the divine bounty: they are all equally his iſſue, he ought to have the ſame care, and the ſame tenderneſs for them all. Be they diſfigured or not, be they weak or robuſt, each is a depoſit for which he is accountable to the hand from which he received it; marriage is a contract made with nature, as well as between the parties conjoined.

But whoſoever impoſes a duty on himſelf, which has not been enjoined by nature, ought previouſly to be aſſured of having the means to fulfil it; otherwiſe he renders himſelf accountable even for what he is not able to perform. He who undertakes the care of a weak and ſickly pupil, changes the employment of a governor into that of a nurſe; in looking after an uſeleſs life, he loſes that time, which he had deſigned to ſpend in enhancing its value; he runs the riſk of ſeeing a diſconſolate mother reproach him one day with the death of her ſon, whoſe days he had only ſtudied to lengthen.

For my own part, I would not undertake the care of a diſtempered child, were I ſure of his living to the age of fourſcore. I will not have a pupil, who muſt be always uſeleſs to himſelf and to others, who muſt be intirely occupied in the preſervation of his health,

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health, and whoſe body prejudices the improvement of his mind. What muſt be the conſequence of waſting my time in this manner, but a double loſs to ſociety, and depriving it of two men inſtead of one? Let another undertake the tuition of that crazy infant, I give my conſent, and approve of his charity; but I have no talent myſelf that way: I cannot teach a perſon to live, who thinks only of defending himſelf againſt death.

The body muſt be vigorous, to obey the ſoul; a good ſervant ought to be robuſt. I am ſenſible, that intemperance awakes the paſſions, and that it alſo at length extenuates the body; mortification and faſting are ſometimes productive of that very effect from an oppoſite cauſe. The weaker the body, the more it commands; the ſtronger, the more it obeys. All the ſenſual paſſions lodge in effeminate men; and the irritation is greater, as they are leſs able to indulge them.

A feeble body weakens the mind: this gave riſe to phyſic, an art more pernicious to mankind, than all the diſeaſes which it pretends to remove. I know not, for my part, what diſtempers the phyſicians are able to cure, but I know of very dangerous maladies intirely owing to them; ſuch as cowardice, credulity, and the fear of death: if they cure the body, they deſtroy the mind. What uſe is it to us, that they keep rotten carcaſes alive? It is men we want, and ſuch we never ſee come from their hands.

Phyſic is at preſent a mode, and ought to continue in that ſtate. It is the amuſement of idle people, who not knowing what to do with their time, waſte it in the care of their healths. Had they been ſo unfortunate as to be born immortal, they would be the moſt miſerable of all beings. A life which they would be in no danger of loſing, would be of no value to them. They muſt have phyſicians, to ſooth and to menace them, and to afford them every day the only plea-

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ſure of which they are ſuſceptible, that of not being dead.

It is not my deſign at preſent to expatiate on the vanity of phyſic; my view is to conſider it only on the ſide of morality. Yet I cannot help obſerving, that mankind form the ſame ſophiſms with regard to its uſe, as in reſpect to inquiries after truth. They conſtantly ſuppoſe that a phyſician, who attends a ſick perſon, makes a cure of him; and that the philoſopher, in his inveſtigations after truth, is ſo happy as to find it: they do not perceive, that we muſt balance a ſingle cure performed by the phyſician, with the death of a hundred patients, whom he has ſent to the other world; and the utility of one truth diſcovered, with the miſchief done by a train of errors. The ſcience that inſtructs, and the art that heals, are doubtleſs very uſeful; but the ſcience that deceives, and the art that kills, are extremely prejudicial. How then ſhall we be able to diſtinguiſh them? There is the difficulty: if we were ſatisfied to be ignorant of the truth, we ſhould never be the dupes of liars; were we content with not being cured in ſpite of nature, we ſhould never die by the hands of phyſicians. Theſe two modes of abſtaining would be extremely prudent, and by complying with them, we ſhould be conſiderable gainers. I do not queſtion, but the ſcience of phyſic may be uſeful to ſome men; I only ſay, that it is fatal to mankind in general.

Some will tell me, according to cuſtom, that the fault is in the phyſician, but that the ſcience itſelf is infallible. Be it ſo; then let us have the ſcience without the phyſician; but ſo long as they go together, there is a hundred times more to be dreaded from the ignorance of the artiſt, than to expect from the aſſiſtance of the art.

This deluſive art, deſigned rather for the diſeaſes of the mind, than for thoſe of the body, is not more

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ſerviceable to the one than to the other; it does not ſo much cure us of diſorders, as it fills our minds with terror. It does not remove death to any diſtance, but makes us feel its approaches; it ſhortens life, inſtead of prolonging it; and were it even to lengthen the ſpan, it would be ſtill to the prejudice of the ſpecies, ſince it withdraws us from ſociety by its ſcrupulous rules, and from our duty by continual apprehenſions. It is the knowledge of danger that makes us dread it; a perſon who thought himſelf invulnerable, would never be afraid. By arming Achilles againſt all hazards, the poet ſtrips him of his valour; every body would have been an Achilles upon the ſame terms.

If you are deſirous to ſee men of real courage, you muſt go where they have no phyſicians, where they are ignorant of the conſequence of maladies, and ſeldom think of death. Man naturally ſuffers with conſtancy, and dies in peace. It is the phyſicians, with their preſcriptions; the philoſophers, with their precepts; and the prieſts, with their exhortations; that debaſe the heart, and make us forget how to die.

Give me a pupil that has no need of thoſe men, or I will have nothing to ſay to him. I do not chuſe that others ſhould ſpoil my work; I want to take care of my pupil myſelf, or not to concern myſelf about him. The ſage Mr. Locke, who had ſpent a part of his life in the ſtudy of phyſic, ſtrongly recommends not to give any drugs to children, by way of prevention, nor for ſlight illneſſes. I will go farther, that as I never intend to have a phyſician for myſelf, ſo I ſhall never have one for my Emilius, unleſs his life be in evident danger, and then the doctor can do no worſe than kill him.

I am not ignorant that the phyſician will take his advantage of this behaviour. If the child dies, he has been called in too late; if he recovers, it was he

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that ſaved the infant's life. Be it ſo; let the doctor triumph; ſtill I ſhall take care he be not called, except in caſes of extremity.

Though your pupil knows not how to cure himſelf, let him know how to behave in his illneſs; this art or knowledge ſupplies the place of the other, and is frequently attended with more ſucceſs; it is that of nature itſelf. When a poor beaſt is diſordered, it ſuffers in ſilence, and keeps itſelf quiet: we know of no animals more plaintive than man. How many have been deſtroyed, by impatience, by fear, and eſpecially by drugs, whom ſickneſs would have ſpared, and time alone have cured? You will tell me, that brutes living in a manner more conformable to nature, muſt be ſubject to fewer diſorders. Very well; this is the manner of living I want my pupil to follow, and therefore he ought to reap the ſame benefit from it.

The only uſeful part of phyſic is the hygieine; and even this is not ſo much a ſcience as a virtue. Temperance and exerciſe are the two real phyſicians of man; the latter whets the appetite, and the former hinders us from abuſing it.

To know what regimen is moſt conducive to health, we have only to follow the practice of thoſe who are moſt ſound and robuſt, and live the longeſt. If, by general obſervation, we find, that the uſe of phyſic does not add to the health or longevity of mankind, the abovementioned art, inſtead of being attended with utility, is pernicious, becauſe it intirely waſtes our time. The years we conſume in prolonging our pupil's life, being loſt for any other uſe, we muſt deduct them from the reſt; but when this time is employed alſo in tormenting us, it is worſe than none at all, it is a mere negative; and to make a juſt calculation, we ought to ſubtract as much from the remainder of life. A man who lives ten years without a phyſician, lives longer for himſelf, and for his friends, than he who has been thirty years their victim.

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tim. Having experienced both, I think myſelf intitled better than any body elſe to draw the concluſion.

Theſe are my reaſons why I would have Emilius robuſt and ſound, and theſe my principles for preſerving him in that ſtate. I ſhall not loſe time in attempting to prove the utility of manual labour and bodily exerciſe, in regard to health and goodneſs of conſtitution; this is a point no body will diſpute. The examples of long lives are generally taken from perſons who have uſed the moſt exerciſe, and ſuſtained the moſt labour and hardſhip *. Neither ſhall I enter into a long detail concerning the care to be taken in purſuit of this object. This is a point ſo intimately connected with my practice, that it is ſufficient to catch its ſpirit, and you will have no occaſion for farther explication.

With life our wants commence. Our new-born babe is in need of a nurſe. If the mother conſents to diſcharge her duty, it is mighty well; we will give her proper directions in writing: for this advan-

* I ſhall give the following inſtance from one of the Engliſh news papers, which indeed I cannot avoid inſerting, as it affords ſuch a number of reflections relative to my ſubject.

"A man, named Patrick O Neal, born in the year 1647, "married a ſeventh wife in 1760. He had belonged to a regiment "of dragoons in the 17th year of king Charles the ſecond's reign, "and continued in the ſervice till the year 1740, when he ob"tained his diſcharge. He ſerved all the campaigns under "king William, and the duke of Marlborough. This man "never drank any thing but beer; he lived chiefly upon vegeta"bles, and eat no meat, but on a few occaſions, when he feaſted "his family. His cuſtom was to riſe and go to-bed with the ſun, "unleſs buſineſs or duty prevented him. He is now in his hun"dred and thirteenth year, in ſound health and underſtanding, "and walks without a cane. Notwithſtanding his great age, he "is not a moment idle; every Sunday he goes to church, ac"companied by his children, grandchildren, and great grand"children."

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tage has its counter-balance, and keeps the governor at ſome diſtance from his pupil: but it is probable, that the regard ſhe has for her child, and her eſteem for the perſon to whom ſhe intends to commit ſo ſacred a depoſit, will render the mother attentive to the governor's advice; ſhe will be ſure, at any event, to behave better than a ſtranger. If we muſt have a ſtrange nurſe, let us take care to pitch on a perſon proper for that buſineſs.

One great misfortune attending the opulent is, to be generally deceived. If they judge wrong of mankind, are we to wonder? It is wealth that corrupts them; and by a juſt return, they are the firſt that feel the inconvenience of the only inſtrument they know. Every thing is ill done in their families, except what they do themſelves, and that is little or nothing. If they want a nurſe, they apply to the man-midwife. What is the conſequence? The beſt is always ſhe who has paid that man beſt: I ſhall not therefore conſult a man-midwife about a nurſe for Emilius; I ſhall take care to chuſe her myſelf. Perhaps I ſhall not harangue about the matter with ſuch eloquence as the doctor; but ſurely I ſhall be more candid and open, and my zeal will not deceive me ſo much as his avarice.

The choice of a nurſe is not ſo great a myſtery: the rules are public: but I know not whether we ought not to give more attention to the age, as well as to the quality, of the milk. New milk is altogether ſerous: it ought to be almoſt aperitive, in order to purge off the remainder of the *meconium*, which is thickened in the inteſtines of the new-born child. By degrees the milk takes a conſiſtency, and ſupplies ſtronger nutriment to the infant, who is grown abler to digeſt it. It is not ſurely without a deſign, that nature in females of every kind alters the conſiſtency of the milk, according to the child's age.

For

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For a new-born infant, we muſt have a nurſe, that has lately lain in. This has its inconveniency, I know; but when once we depart from the order of nature, it is difficult to act right. The convenient way is to act wrong, and this they chuſe.

It is neceſſary to have a nurſe as ſound in mind as in body; the intemperature of paſſions may, like that of humours, alter her milk; beſides, to confine yourſelf entirely to phyſical conſiderations, is to view only one half of the object. The milk may be good, and the nurſe bad; a good character is as eſſential, as a good conſtitution: if you take a vicious woman, I do not ſay that the child will contract her vices, but he will ſuffer for them. Beſides the article of milk, ought we not to ſee that ſhe be tender-hearted, patient, mild, and clean in her perſon? If ſhe be a glutton, and intemperate, ſhe will ſoon ſpoil her milk; if ſhe be careleſs, or violent, what is to become of the poor little thing at her mercy, who can neither defend himſelf, nor make his complaint? The vicious are never good for any thing.

The chuſing a nurſe is of the greater importance, as the child is to have no other governante but her; juſt as he ought to have no other governor than his preceptor. This was the practice of the ancients, who reaſoned leſs, yet were much wiſer than we. After having been nurſes to children of their own ſex, they continued with them the remainder of their lives. Hence it is that in the theatrical compoſitions of the ancients, moſt of the confidants are nurſes. It is impoſſible for a child, that has paſſed through ſo many different hands, to be well educated. At every change he makes a ſecret compariſon, which always tends towards diminiſhing his eſteem for thoſe who govern him, and of courſe muſt leſſen their influence and authority. When once he comes to think, that there are adult perſons, who have no more ſenſe than

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children, the whole authority founded in age is loſt, and his education is ſpoilt. A child ought to know no other ſuperior but his father and mother, or, in their ſtead, his nurſe and governor; and even one of theſe is too much; but this diviſion of authority is inevitable, and all that can be done to remedy it is, that the perſons by whom he is governed make this agreement, that he muſt conſider them both as one.

The nurſe ought to live ſomewhat more commodiouſly than before, and her food ought to be a little more ſubſtantial, but ſhe ſhould not altogether alter her manner of life; for a quick and total change, even for the better, is dangerous in regard to health; and ſince her uſual regimen has preſerved her body ſound and vigorous, to what purpoſe would you change it?

The country women eat leſs meat and more vegetables than thoſe in town; and this diet appears to be moſt conducive to their health, as well as to that of their offſpring. When they have the children of citizens to nurſe, the parents ſupply them with porridge-pots, imagining that ſoups and broths extracted from meat will give them a better chyle, and furniſh them with more milk. I am not of that opinion; and I have experience on my ſide, by which it appears, that children brought up in that manner are more ſubject than others to the colic and to worms.

This is not at all ſurprizing, ſince we ſee that putrid animal ſubſtances ſwarm with worms, which never is the caſe with reſpect to vegetables. Milk, though elaborated in the animal frame, is a vegetable ſubſtance (10), as its analyſis ſheweth; it

(10) Women eat bread, vegetables, and milk; the females of dogs and cats eat likewiſe the ſame, as do alſo the females of wolues. Here are vegetable juices for their milk; there remains for

it eaſily turns acid, and, inſtead of having the leaſt tincture of a volatile alkali, like the animal ſubſtances, it affords, like plants, an eſſential neutral ſalt.

The milk of herbivorous females is ſweeter and wholeſomer than that of the carnivorous. Formed of a ſubſtance homogeneous to its own, it better preſerves its nature, and becomes leſs ſubject to putrefaction. If we conſider the quantity, every body knows that farinaceous food produces more blood than fleſh-meat does; and therefore muſt be productive of more milk. I do not imagine, there ever was a child ſubject to worms, who was not weaned too ſoon, or was weaned only with vegetable food, and whoſe nurſe lived only on vegetables.

It is poſſible, that vegetable food may render milk too apt to ſour; but far am I from looking upon ſour milk as an unwholeſome nutriment; intire nations, that live upon nothing elſe, find no inconveniency from thence, and all the apparatus of abſorbents appears to be down right quackery. There are conſtitutions that milk does not agree with, and in ſuch caſe no abſorbent upon earth can render it tolerable; while others can bear it without abſorbents. They are apprehenſive of the milk's curdling; but this is mere folly, ſince milk always curdles in the ſtomach. Thus it becomes a proper aliment for children, and for the young ones of brutes; if it did not curdle, it would only paſs through, but never nouriſh them *. Little does it avail to cut the milk a thouſand ways; to uſe a thouſand abſorbents; whoever feeds on milk, may, without exception, be

for us to examine ſuch ſpecies of animals as can abſolutely feed upon nothing but fleſh-meat, if there be any ſuch, which I very much queſtion.

* Although the juices that nouriſh us are a liquid, they ought to be drawn from ſolid meats. A working man, that lived only upon broth, would ſoon periſh; he would ſubſiſt much better on milk, becauſe it curdles.

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ſaid to digeſt cheeſe. So well formed is the ſtomach for the curdling of milk, that it is of a calf's maw they make rennet.

I am therefore of opinion, that, inſtead of changing the uſual nutriment of nurſes, it is ſufficient to let them have it in greater plenty, and better of the ſort. It is not from the nature of the thing, that a meagre diet becomes heating. Alter the rules of your kitchen; let there be no ſalt butter, nor frying; let neither the butter, ſalt, nor milk, be put over the fire; let your greens be boiled in water, and not ſeaſoned till they are brought up to table; then your meagre diet, inſtead of heating the nurſe, will furniſh her with plenty of milk, and of better quality (11). Is it poſſible, that whilſt the vegetable regimen is allowed to be the beſt for the child, the animal diet ſhould be the moſt elegible for the nurſe? Surely this implies a contradiction.

In the earlieſt years of life, the air begins to act on the conſtitution of children: the ſkin being ſoft and delicate, the air eaſily pervades the pores, powerfully affects thoſe tender bodies, and leaves ſuch impreſſions as are never effaced. I ſhould not therefore be for taking a nurſe out of her country cottage, to immure her in a cloſe apartment, and make her ſuckle the child at my own houſe. I had much rather he breathed the freſh country air, than the unwholeſome air of the town. The child will thus conform to the ſituation of his new mother, will reſide in her cottage, and be attended there by his governor. The reader will recollect this governor is not a hireling; he is a friend and acquaintance. But in caſe this friend is not to be found; in caſe this removal into the country is not ſo eaſily effected; in caſe not a

(11) Thoſe who are deſirous of making a minuter inquiry into the advantages and inconveniencies of the Pythagorean diet, may conſult the treatiſes, which doctor Cocchi, and Bianchi his antagoniſt, have publiſhed on this important ſubject.

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tittle of all that I have been adviſing is practicable; what is to be done, ſome will ſay to me? .... I have told you already; This is a point that requires no advice.

Mankind were not framed to live together in multitudes, but to be ſcattered and diſperſed, in order to cultivate the earth. The more they live in a body, the more they become corrupt. Corporeal infirmities, as well as mental vices, are infallibly the effect of this too great concourſe of people. Of all animals, man is the leaſt able to live in flocks. Huddled together, like ſheep, men would ſoon periſh. Their breath is mortal to one another; and this is no leſs true in the proper, than in the figurative ſenſe.

Populous towns are the gulph that abſorbs the human ſpecies. At the end of a few generations, whole races periſh or degenerate; they muſt therefore be renewed, and it is the country that furniſhes them with a perpetual ſupply. Send your children to renew themſelves in ſome meaſure, and to recover in the open fields that vigour which is loſt in the unwholeſome air of populous cities. Pregnant ladies, that happen to be out of town, return in all haſte to lie in, when the time of their delivery approaches; but they ought to act quite the reverſe, eſpecially ſuch as intend to ſuckle their own children. In a ſituation more natural to the ſpecies, they would have leſs to regret than they imagine; and the pleaſures annexed to their duty would ſoon give them a diſreliſh for ſuch as are founded in folly and caprice.

As ſoon as the infant is born, he is bathed with luke-warm water, in which is generally mixed a little wine. This addition of wine does not appear to me at all neceſſary. As nature produces nothing fermented, it is not to be ſuppoſed that the uſe of an artificial liquor can help to preſerve the life of any created being.

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For the ſame reaſon, this precaution of making the water luke-warm is not at all neceſſary; and indeed numbers of people waſh the new-born infants in rivers, or in the ſea, without any other ceremony: but ours, being enervated before their birth, by the effeminacy of their parents, bring into the world with them an unſound conſtitution, which you muſt not immediately expoſe to the trials, by which they are to be healed. By degrees only can you reſtore them to their primitive vigour. Begin therefore with conforming to cuſtom, and deviate from thence but by very ſlow degrees. Waſh the children often; their filthineſs ſhews their want of ſuch aſſiſtance; for when they are only rubbed, their fleſh is torn. But in proportion as their ſtrength increaſes, you muſt diminiſh the warmth, till at length they can bear water ever ſo cold, both in winter and ſummer. But ſince to prevent danger, it is proper that this diminution be ſlow and inſenſible, you may make uſe of the thermometer, in order to meaſure it with exactneſs.

When once the uſe of bathing is eſtabliſhed, it ought to be continued for life. It is a practice extremely commendable, not only in regard to cleanlineſs and preſent health, but likewiſe a proper precaution to render the texture of the fibres more pliant, and make them eaſily conform to the different degrees of heat and cold. For this purpoſe, as they grow up, I ſhould be glad they habituated themſelves gradually to bathing; the water being ſometimes made as warm as it is poſſible to bear, and at other times as cold as ice. Thus being inured to the different temperatures of that element, which, as a more conſiſtent fluid, coheres to us by a greater number of points, and more intimately affects us, we ſhould become almoſt inſenſible to the different changes of the air.

The moment an infant is releaſed from his mother's womb, do not permit him to be enveloped in ſwaddling cloaths; theſe will confine him more than before.

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fore. Let him have no ſtay-bands nor fillets, but flowing blankets, ſuch as will allow him the liberty of his limbs, and be neither ſo heavy as to reſtrain his motions, nor ſo warm as to hinder him from feeling the impreſſions of the air (12). Put him into a large cradle (13), well ſtuffed up with flocks, where he may be able to move himſelf with eaſe and without danger. When he begins to gain ſtrength, let him crawl about the room, let him unfold and ſtretch his little limbs, and you will ſee him acquire freſh vigour every day. Compare him with a child of the ſame age, that has been wrapped up in ſwaddling cloaths, and you will be aſtoniſhed at the difference (14).

From

(12) Children are ſuffocated in great towns by keeping them ſtived up, and too warm. Thoſe who have them under their care, ought to know that the cold air, inſtead of doing them any harm, adds to their ſtrength; and that the warm air not only debilitates, but throws them into fevers, and kills them.

(13) I make uſe of the word *cradle*, as moſt received, and for want of a better; yet I am convinced it is not at all neceſſary to confine children in a cradle, and that this cuſtom is frequently prejudicial.

(14) "The ancient Peruvians ſuffered their children to have "the freedom of their arms in very large ſwaddling cloaths; "when they took theſe off, they placed the children at full liberty "in a hole made in the earth, and lined with linnen, into which "they let down one half of their bodies: they had their arms "free, and could move their heads, and bend themſelves at plea"ſure, without falling or receiving any hurt. As ſoon as they "were able to move a ſtep, the nipple was held out to them at "ſome diſtance, in order to oblige them to walk. The little "Negroes are ſometimes harder put to it to get at the breaſt; "they cling to their mother's hips with their knees and feet, and "keep ſuch faſt hold, that they are able to ſupport themſelves "without the aſſiſtance of the mother's arm; they faſten them"ſelves to the nipple with their hands, and ſuck it continually "without loſing their hold or falling, notwithſtanding the differ"ent motions of the parent, who, in the mean while, goes about "her uſual work. Theſe little babes begin to walk the ſecond "month, or rather to crawl on their feet and hands; an exerciſe

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From the nurſes you are to expect great oppoſition, in regard to this article, as the cuſtom of binding the children gives them leſs trouble than they muſt be ſure to undergo, when they are obliged to have a conſtant eye over them. Beſides any foulneſs upon the child is ſooner perceived in a flowing dreſs, ſo that they muſt waſh and cleanſe them oftener. In ſhort, cuſtom is an argument which you cannot refute in particular countries to the general ſatisfaction.

But you are not to reaſon with nurſes; give your orders, ſee them executed, and ſpare no pains to render your preſcriptions eaſy in practice. Why ſhould not you partake of the trouble with them? In common caſes of nurſing, where no more than the animal part is conſidered; provided the infant lives and thrives, the reſt is of little ſignification: but in your caſe, where the article of education commences with life, the child, at his coming into the world, is already a diſciple, not in regard to the governor, but to nature. The governor has no more to do than to ſtudy under this firſt maſter, and to prevent his cares from being defeated. He watches over the infant, he obſerves, he attends him; with joy he ſpies the firſt glimmering of his underſtanding, juſt as at the approach of the firſt quarter, the Mahometans watch the new moon.

We are born with a capacity of underſtanding, but without any knowledge. The ſoul, chained down to organs imperfect and half-formed, has not even a ſenſe of its own exiſtence. The babe's motions and

" which enables them afterwards to run in that poſture almoſt as " faſt, as they could poſſibly on their legs." *Hiſt. Nat. t.* 4. *in* 12°. *p.* 129.

To theſe examples, M. Buffon might have added that of the Engliſh, among whom the barbarous and abſurd practice of ſwaddling cloaths is declining every day. See alſo La Loubere, a voyage to Siam, the ſieur Le Beau, a voyage to Canada, *&c.* I might ſwell twenty pages with quotations, were there any occaſion of confirming this by facts.

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cries are mere mechanical effects, devoid of underſtanding and will.

Let us ſuppoſe an infant to be of full ſize at his birth, and to have the ſtrength of a man grown; ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that he ſallied forth from his mother's womb, as it were, in full armour, like Pallas from Jupiter's brains; this man-child would be a perfect driveller, an automaton, a ſtatue altogether void of motion, and almoſt inſenſible. He would ſee nothing; he would underſtand nothing; he would know no body; he would not be capable even to direct his eye towards the object, which was neceſſary for him to behold. He would have no perception of any external object, notwithſtanding the perfection of his organs. No colour would be painted in the pupil of his eye, no voice would reſound in his ear; he would have no contact of bodies, nor would he ſo much as know that a body exiſted: the contact of his hands would be in his brain; all his ſenſations would center in one point; he would exiſt only in the common *ſenſorium*; he would have only one idea, namely, that of *ſelf*, to which he would refer all his ſenſations; and that idea, or rather ſenſation, would be the only thing he would have more than a common infant.

This man, formed all of a ſudden, would not be able to ſtand upon his legs; he would require a good deal of time to keep an equilibrium; perhaps he would not even make an eſſay; and you ſhould ſee this large robuſt body confined to one place, like a ſtock or a ſtone, or crawl along the earth, like a puppy.

He would feel the inconveniency of his wants, without knowing their nature, and without meditating a way to prevent them. As there is no immediate communication between the muſcles of the ſtomach and thoſe of the arms and legs, were he even to be ſurrounded with all ſorts of viands, he would not move a ſingle ſtep towards them, or ſtretch out his

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his hand to preſerve his life: and as his body was ſuppoſed to have acquired its full growth, as his limbs were quite proportioned, and of courſe he neither had the inquietude nor continual motion of children, he might periſh with hunger, before he began to go in ſearch of ſubſiſtence. Whoever will caſt the leaſt reflection on the order and progreſs of human knowledge, muſt allow that ſuch, or nearly ſuch, is the primitive ſtate of ignorance and ſtupidity, natural to man, before he has acquired any knowledge by experience, or by the inſtruction of his fellow-creatures.

We therefore know, or are capable of knowing, the firſt point from whence all mankind ſet out, in order to attain a common degree of underſtanding: but who can tell the other extremity? Each advances more or leſs, according to his genius, his taſte, his wants, his capacity, and zeal, or the opportunities he has of indulging them. Never was there a philoſopher, that I know of, ſo preſumptuous as to affirm: this is the term attainable by man, and further he cannot advance. We are ignorant of the limits, which nature has aſſigned us; we have not even meaſured the diſtance, which may happen between two different men. Is there a ſoul ſo daſtardly, whom this idea has never fired, and who has not ſome time or other ſaid to himſelf in the fullneſs of his pride: how many have not I already excelled? How many are there, whom I may yet overtake? and why ſhould my equal go farther than I?

Man's education, once more I repeat it, commences at his birth; before he ſpeaks, before he underſtands, he receives inſtruction. Experience prevents his leſſons; and the moment he knows his nurſe, he has made a conſiderable improvement. We ſhould be greatly ſurprized at the knowledge of the moſt ruſtic clown, were we to trace his progreſs from the hour of his nativity to his preſent ſtate. Were we

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to divide all human ſcience into two parts, one common to the generality of mankind, the other particular to the learned, the latter would be very trifling compared to the former: but we ſeldom think of general acquiſitions, becauſe they are made as it were unknown to us, and even before the uſe of reaſon; and, moreover, knowledge is obſerved only by its differences, as in algebraic equations common quantities paſs for nothing.

Even the brutes acquire a great part of their animal perceptions. They have ſenſible organs, but they muſt learn to make uſe of them; they have wants, and they muſt provide for them; they muſt learn to eat, to walk, to fly. Quadrupeds, that ſtand upon their feet the moment they are born, do not for all that know how to walk; we ſee by their eſſays that they are afraid of ſtumbling; the Canary birds that eſcape from their cages know not how to fly, becauſe they have never taken wing. Every thing is inſtruction to animate and ſenſible beings. Had the plants been endued with a progreſſive motion, it would be neceſſary for them to have a ſenſible organization, and to acquire knowledge; otherwiſe the ſpecies would ſoon be extinct.

The firſt ſenſations of children are thoſe of pleaſure and pain. As they can neither walk, nor graſp with their hands, they require a good deal of time to form the repreſentative ſenſations, which point out the external objects; but while theſe objects are extending, while they remove, as it were, from their eyes, and aſſume dimenſions and figures in regard to them, the return of the ſenſations of pleaſure and pain begins to ſubject them to the power of habit. We ſee their eyes continually turning towards the light, and if it comes aſlant, they inſenſibly aſſume that direction; ſo that we ſhould be careful to ſet them with their faces to the light, leſt they become ſquint-eyed, by accuſtoming themſelves to obliquity of viſion. Dark-

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neſs ſhould alſo be rendered familiar to them; otherwiſe they will cry and bawl as ſoon as the light is withdrawn. Too exact meaſuring of food and ſleep becomes habitually neceſſary to them at the expiration of the ſame intervals; and ſoon the deſire ariſes not from want, but from habit, or rather the habit adds a new want to that of nature: this by all means muſt be prevented.

The only habit we ſhould ſuffer a child to contract is, that of contracting none; let him not be held longer on one arm than on another; let him not be uſed to preſent always, or to act always with one hand; to eat, ſleep, or do any thing elſe always at the ſame hour; to be never left alone, either night or day. Prepare him for the full liberty, and uſe of his ſtrength, by leaving his body to natural habit, by enabling him to be always maſter of himſelf, and to act in every reſpect purſuant to his own will, as ſoon as his will is formed.

When the child begins to diſtinguiſh objects, be ſure you chuſe ſuch as are proper for him to behold. All new objects, naturally ſpeaking, are intereſting to man. He feels himſelf ſo weak, that he is afraid of every thing he does not know; and this fear is deſtroyed, by accuſtoming him to behold new objects without being affected. Children educated at home, where there are no ſpiders, are afraid of thoſe inſects; and that fear often continues when they are ripened in life. But I never ſaw, among the country people, either man, woman, or child, that was afraid of a ſpider.

Why then ſhould not a child's education begin, before he has either ſpeech or underſtanding; ſince the very choice of objects preſented to his view, is capable of rendering him either brave or timid. I ſhould be for habituating him to behold new objects, ſuch as hideous, or uncommon animals; but gradually, and at a diſtance, till they are rendered familiar

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familiar to his ſight; when perceiving that others handle them, he will venture to touch them himſelf. If in his infancy he has not been afraid to ſee toads, ſerpents, and lobſters; arriving at mature age, he will look at any animal with intrepidity. There are no objects frightful to him who ſees them every day. All children are afraid of maſks. I ſhould begin with ſhewing to Emilius a maſk of an agreeable figure. Then let ſomebody put on this maſk in his preſence; I ſhall fall a laughing, every body elſe will follow me, and the child will join with us. By degrees, I ſhould accuſtom him to leſs agreeable vizards, and at length to the moſt hideous. If I manage my gradation properly, inſtead of being terrified by the laſt maſk, he will laugh at it, as he did at the firſt. After this, I am no way apprehenſive of his being frightened at theſe diſguiſes.

When, in the parting ſcene between Andromache and Hector, we behold young Aſtyanax frightened at the plume of feathers on his father's helmet, raiſing a loud ſquall, and hiding his face in his mother's boſom, from whom he forces a ſmile mixed with tears: what method muſt we take to remove this terror? The very ſame that Hector makes uſe of, which is to lay his helmet on the ground, and to careſs the child. At any other time, but that of ſo melancholy a ſcene, other means ſhould be uſed; we might draw near to the helmet, play with the feathers, make the child handle them; in ſhort, the nurſe might take the helmet laughing, and put it on her own head, if yet a female dare to lay her hand on Hector's arms.

Suppoſe I want to render the ſound of fire-arms familiar to Emilius; I begin with only priming a piſtol, and making it flaſh in the pan. This tranſient flame, this ſpecies of lightning, pleaſes his eye: I repeat the ſame operation, with more powder; by degrees, I put a ſmall charge into the piſtol, without ram-

ramming it down, and afterwards a larger; at length I accuſtom him to muſket-ſhots, to rockets, to cannon, and to the moſt terrible noiſes.

I have taken notice, that children are ſeldom afraid of thunder, unleſs the claps are very terrible indeed, and hurt the organ of hearing. Otherwiſe this apprehenſion proceeds only from their having been apprized, that people are hurt or killed by thunder. As ſoon as reaſon begins to raiſe their fears, let habit reſtore their courage. By a gradation, ſlow and well managed, both man and child may attain an abſolute intrepidity.

In the beginning of life, while the memory and imagination are ſtill inactive, the infant attends only to what actually affects his ſenſes. His ſenſations being to him the firſt materials of knowledge, to range them in a proper manner, is preparing his memory to furniſh them hereafter in the ſame order to his underſtanding: however, as he minds nothing but his ſenſations, it is ſufficient at firſt to give him a diſtinct view of the connexion between thoſe ſenſations and the objects by which they are produced. He would fain touch and handle every thing; do not oppoſe this reſtleſs diſpoſition; it introduces him into a very proper ſchool. Thus it is he learns to have a ſenſe of heat and cold, of the hardneſs, ſoftneſs, gravity, and lightneſs of bodies; to judge of their magnitude, figure, and all their ſenſible qualities, by gazing, feeling (15), liſtening, and eſpecially by comparing the ſight with the touch, eſtimating by the eye the ſenſation made with his fingers.

It is merely by motion we learn, that there are external bodies different from ourſelves: and it is merely by our own motion, we acquire the idea of exten-

(15) The ſmell is, of all the ſenſes, that which ſhews itſelf the lateſt in children; till their ſecond or third year they do not appear to be ſenſible either of good or bad ſmell; in this reſpect, they have the indifference, or rather the inſenſibility, which we obſerve in ſeveral animals.

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ſion. The child not having this idea, extends his hand indifferently to graſp at the object that touches him, or that which is at a hundred yards diſtance. This effort appears to you a mark of imperiouſneſs, an order for the object to approach him, or for you to lay it at his feet; but you are quite miſtaken; it is only becauſe the objects, which he beheld at firſt in his brain, and afterwards upon the viſual organ, he now ſees at arm's length, and imagines no extenſion but what he can reach. Be ſure you, therefore, carry him about, and lead him from place to place, to make him ſenſible of his local motion, to the end that he may learn to judge of diſtances. As ſoon as he begins to know them, you muſt change your method, and lead him as you pleaſe, and not as he liſts: for when he is no longer deceived by his ſenſes, the cauſe of his effort toward the object changes; this change is extremely remarkable, and requires explanation.

The uneaſineſs attending our wants is expreſſed by ſigns, when the aſſiſtance of another is requiſite to provide againſt them. Hence it is, that children are ſo apt to cry; which cannot be otherwiſe. Since all their ſenſations are thoſe of pleaſure and pain, when they happen to be the former, they ſilently enjoy them; when the latter, they tell their complaint in their language, and call out aloud for ſuccour. Now ſo long as they are awake, they can ſcarce continue in a ſtate of indifference; they either ſleep, or are affected by ſome object.

All languages are artificial: it has been long an inquiry, whether there be any ſuch thing as a natural language, common to mankind; no doubt but there is, and it is that uſed by children, before they know how to ſpeak. This language is not articulate, but accented, ſonorous, and intelligible. The uſe of artificial languages has made us entirely forget the other. Let us but attend to the motion of infants, and we

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ſhall ſoon learn that language after them. In this ſchool, the nurſes are our miſtreſſes; they underſtand every thing the children ſay to them; they make them anſwers; they hold dialogues with them; and though they pronounce ſome words, theſe are of no ſignification; for it is not the meaning of the word they underſtand, but the accent or modification of the voice with which it is uttered.

Beſides the vocal language, there is that of geſture; equally energetical. This geſture is not in the feeble hands of children, but in their countenance. The expreſſion with which nature has already endued thoſe half-featured puppets, is really ſurprizing; their muſcles are altered with amazing rapidity; you will ſee pleaſure, deſire, terror, &c. riſe and vaniſh on their faces, like a flaſh of lightning; and every time you imagine you behold a different countenance. Certainly the muſcles of their faces are a great deal more flexible than ours. On the other hand, their eyes are dull, and have ſcarce any expreſſion. Such ought to be the nature of their ſigns, at a period of life, when they have none but bodily wants; the expreſſion of ſenſations is made by diſtortions, that of ſentiments by looks.

As the firſt ſtage of man is that of miſery and weakneſs, his firſt ſounds are thoſe of lamentation and complaint. The infant feels his wants, but cannot ſatisfy them, and therefore implores the aſſiſtance of others: is he troubled with either hunger or thirſt? he cries: is he too cold or too warm? he cries: is he in need of motion or reſt? he cries: does he want to ſleep, or to be dandled? he cries. The leſs his mode of exiſtence is at his command, the more he prays to have it altered. He has only one kind of language, becauſe he has in ſome meaſure but one ſort of evil; under the imperfection of his organs, he does not diſtinguiſh their different impreſſions; all evils to him are reducible to that of pain.

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From thoſe cries, which one would think ſo little worthy of our notice, ariſes the firſt relation of man to the objects that ſurround him: here is formed the firſt link of that long chain of human ſociety.

When a child cries, ſomething diſturbs him; he labours under ſome want, which he cannot ſatisfy; the nurſe examines into this want, finds it out, and relieves it. When ſhe neither can find it out, nor relieve it, the cries continue, and the infant grows importunate; ſhe wheedles him to make him quiet; ſhe puts him into the cradle, and tries to rock him to ſleep; if he is ſtubborn, he is threatened; and a brutal nurſe ſometimes ſtrikes him. What ſtrange ſcenes upon his entrance into life!

I ſhall never forget a ſight I once beheld; one of thoſe importunate ſquallers, who was thus ſtruck by his hard-hearted nurſe. He became quiet in an inſtant, and I thought him intimidated. This will be a ſervile wretch, ſaid I to myſelf; he will be governed by fear all his life. I was miſtaken; the poor creature was almoſt choaked with choler, he was out of breath, and I ſaw his face grow livid. In an inſtant, his ſhrill ſcreams were renewed; all the ſigns of rage, indignation, and deſpair, were expreſſed in the modulation of his voice. I was afraid indeed he ſhould expire under theſe convulſions. Had I ever doubted that the idea of right and wrong are innate or implanted in the human breaſt, this example alone would have convinced me. Sure I am, that if a red-hot poker had fallen by chance on the child's hand, it would not have affected him ſo much as that blow, which, though ſo very ſlight, was given with a manifeſt intention to offend him.

This diſpoſition of infants to indignation and reſentment, requires very particular caution. Boerhaave thinks their maladies are for the moſt part of the convulſive claſs; becauſe their head being proportionably larger, and their ſyſtem of nerves more

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extenſive than that of adult perſons, this nervous ſyſtem is more ſuſceptible of irritation. Do not ſuffer their little bodies to be approached by ſuch domeſtics as are likely to raiſe their paſſions; theſe people are infinitely more dangerous to the poor babes, than the injuries of air and ſeaſons. So long as infants find no oppoſition but from things, and not from perſons, they will neither be ſtubborn nor choleric, and they will preſerve themſelves better in health. This is one of the reaſons, why the children of the common people, being brought up with more freedom and independency, are generally ſpeaking leſs infirm and delicate, or rather much more robuſt than thoſe, who are ſaid to have been better educated, by means of perpetual contradiction: but we muſt recollect, that there is a wide difference between obeying, and not contradicting a child.

The firſt cries of children are intreaties; if we take no notice of them, they ſoon fall into the imperative ſtrain; they begin with begging our aſſiſtance, they conclude with commanding our obedience. Thus even from their weakneſs, which gives them the firſt notion of their dependance, ariſes the idea of empire and dominion: but this idea not being awaked ſo much by their wants, as by our ſervices, here they begin to perceive the moral effects, the immediate cauſe of which is not founded in nature; and hence we ſee why, in this early ſtage, it behoves us to diſcover the private intention, by which the geſture or cry is directed.

When the child extends its hand with ſome effort, but without ſpeaking, he thinks to reach the object, becauſe he does not eſtimate the diſtance; but he is miſtaken: when he complains and cries at the ſame time that he extends his hand, then he is not miſtaken as to the diſtance, but commands the object to approach, or you to bring it towards him. In the former caſe, lead him to the object ſlowly and by degrees;

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grees; in the latter, do not ſeem as if you ſo much as heard him; the more he cries, the leſs ought you to mind his importunity. It is a matter of conſequence to accuſtom him betimes, neither to command men, for he is not their maſter; nor things, for they do not underſtand his command. Therefore when a child deſires a thing he ſees, and which you intend to give him, it is much preferable to lead him to the object, than to bring the object to him; from thence he draws a concluſion ſuited to his own age, and there is no poſſibility of ſuggeſting it to him any other way.

The abbé de St. Pierre uſed to call men by the name of *great children*; and one might, on the contrary, give to children the appellation of *little men*. Theſe propoſitions, as ſentences, are ſtrictly true; but, as principles, they ſtand in need of explanation. When Hobbes called a knave a robuſt infant, he made uſe of an expreſſion abſolutely abſurd. All vice is owing to weakneſs; the infant is vicious, only becauſe he is feeble; give him ſtrength, and he will be good and virtuous: he who could do whatever he pleaſed, would never do wrong. Of all the attributes of the Deity, goodneſs ſeems the moſt eſſential to him. Every nation that has acknowledged two principles, always looked upon the bad as inferior to the good; otherwiſe they would have made an abſurd ſuppoſition. See in the ſecond volume the Profeſſion of Faith, made by the vicar of Savoy.

By reaſon alone we are taught to diſtinguiſh between good and evil. Conſcience therefore, which makes us love the one, and hate the other, though independent of reaſon, cannot be explained without it. Before we have attained the uſe of reaſon, we do good and evil unknown to us; there is no morality in our actions, though there may be ſome in our ſenſe of the actions of others, relative to ourſelves. A child wants to throw whatever he ſees into diſorder

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diſorder and confuſion; he breaks every thing he can lay his hands on; he ſeizes a bird juſt in the ſame manner as he would graſp a ſtone, and ſqueezes it to death, without knowing what he does.

And why ſo? Philoſophers endeavour to account for it by the means of natural vice; by pride, ambition, ſelf-love, and the perverſity of man. The ſenſe of his own weakneſs, they may add, renders the infant eager to commit acts of violence, and to be convinced of his own power. But behold yon old man, ſtooping with age and infirmities, and, by the rotation of human life, brought back to the feebleneſs of infancy; he not only remains ſtock-ſtill, but is for having every thing quiet and immoveable about him: the leaſt change diſturbs his reſt, he would be glad to ſee an univerſal calm. How comes it that the ſame impotency, under the ſame paſſions, ſhould produce ſuch different effects in the two extremes of life, if the original cauſe were not changed? And where can we look for this diverſity of cauſes, but in the natural ſtate of the two individuals? The active principle, common to them both, is developed in the one, and extinct in the other; one is forming, and the other deſtroyed; one is tending to life, and the other to diſſolution. The activity declining is concentered in the heart of the old man; in the infant's it ſuperabounds, and is outwardly expanded; he feels, as it were, a ſufficient ſtock of life, to animate all that ſurrounds him. Whether he does or undoes a thing, it imports not; it is ſufficient for him to change its ſituation, and every change is an action. And if he ſeems to have a greater bent to deſtroy, it is not through perverſeneſs; but becauſe the action that creates or forms, is ſlow; and that which deſtroys, being more rapid, is better ſuited to his vivacity.

At the ſame time, that the author of nature gives this active principle to children, he takes care it ſhall do

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do but little harm, by enduing them with very little ſtrength to exert it. But as ſoon as they are in a capacity to conſider thoſe about them, as inſtruments which they may put in motion whenever they pleaſe, they make uſe of this principle to indulge their inclinations, and to ſupply their weakneſs. Then they grow troubleſome, tyrannical, imperious, ſtubborn, and perverſe; a progreſs not owing to a natural ſpirit of dominion, but which cauſes that ſpirit in children; for it does not require a long experience to be convinced of the pleaſure of acting with another perſon's hands, and of only moving one's tongue, to ſet the world in motion.

Children, as they grow up, acquire ſtrength, become leſs troubleſome, leſs active, and are more confined within their own center. The ſoul and the body place themſelves, as it were, in an equilibrium, and nature requires nothing more of us than the motion neceſſary for our preſervation. But the deſire of command is not extinguiſhed at the ſame time, as the want which gave it birth; power awakes, and flatters ſelf-love, while habit ſtrengthens it; fancy ſucceeds to want; and thus prejudices and opinions are firſt rooted.

When once the principle is known, we clearly ſee the point where we turned out of nature's path; let us ſee what is proper to be done, to prevent our loſing our way.

So far from being endued with too much ſtrength, children have not even the force ſufficient for every thing that nature requires of them; we muſt therefore let them have the full enjoyment of the vigour they received from nature, ſo long as they can do no harm or miſchief with it. This is the firſt maxim.

A ſecond maxim is, that we ought to aſſiſt them, and ſupply their wants, whether as to underſtanding, ſtrength, or any other phyſical defect.

A third

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A third maxim is, that whatever aid or aſſiſtance we grant them, we ſhould always confine ourſelves to real utility, without allowing any indulgence to fancy or unreaſonable deſire; for fancy will not torment them, when they have not been the cauſe of it themſelves, ſince it never proceeds from nature.

The fourth maxim is, that we ſhould carefully ſtudy their language and ſigns, to the end that during a ſtage of life, in which they are incapable of diſſembling, we may be able to diſtinguiſh their deſires; which of them, for inſtance, are derived immediately from nature, and which from opinion.

The intent of theſe rules is, that children ſhall enjoy more real liberty, and leſs command; that they ſhall do more of themſelves, and require leſs of others. Thus being accuſtomed to meaſure their deſires by their ſtrength, they will ſcarcely feel the privation of what is not in their power.

The above is a new, and indeed a very important reaſon, for leaving children to the free uſe of their limbs: only with the precaution of keeping them out of all danger of falling, and letting nothing approach their hands, by which they can poſſibly be hurt.

There is no doubt but a child, whoſe body is at full liberty, will cry a great deal leſs, than one bound up in ſwaddling cloaths. He who knows no other than bodily wants, ſqualls only when in pain, and this is a great advantage; for thus we know exactly when he ſtands in need of aſſiſtance, and we ſhould not delay it a moment, if poſſible. But if you cannot eaſe him, keep yourſelf quiet, without uſing careſſes to ſooth him; theſe will give no relief to his colic: in the mean time, he will remember what is proper to be done, in order to get careſſed; when once he has learnt to employ you whenever he pleaſes about his perſon, he is become your maſter, and you are both undone.

When

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When children are leſs contradicted in their motions, they will cry leſs; on the other hand, when you are leſs importuned with their ſcreams, you will give yourſelf leſs trouble to make them quiet; the ſeldomer they are menaced or careſſed, the leſs fearful or ſtubborn they will be, and the better they will continue in their natural ſtate. It is not ſo much by ſuffering children to ſcream, as by haſtening to ſtill them, that they are inflicted with ruptures; and my reaſon is, that children the moſt neglected, are the leaſt ſubject to this complaint. Far am I, however, from deſiring they ſhould be neglected; on the contrary, the beſt way is to prevent them, and not to let them apprize us of their wants by their cries. Neither would I, on the other hand, have the care with which they are attended, to be void of judgment. How ſhould they ever think it wrong to cry, when they ſee their ſcreams anſwer ſo many purpoſes? When once they know the great value that is ſet upon their ſilence, they take care not to laviſh it. At length they raiſe its value ſo high, that there is no poſſibility of coming up to their price; ſo that by continually crying to no manner of purpoſe, they ſtrain, they exhauſt, they kill themſelves.

The long ſqualling of a child, who is neither confined nor ill, and who is ſuffered to want for nothing, is the importunity of habit and perverſity. Thoſe cries are no longer the work of nature, but of the nurſe, who, becauſe ſhe finds them too vexatious, multiplies their number; not in the leaſt dreaming, that by quieting the child to-day, ſhe excites him to ſcream and ſquall the more to-morrow.

The only way of removing or preventing this habit, is to take no notice of it. No body chuſes to put himſelf to trouble for no purpoſe, not even children. They are obſtinate in their attempts; but if your perſeverance exceeds their perverſeneſs, they will be diſcouraged at laſt, and return no more to the charge.

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charge. Thus they will learn to ſave their tears, and to ſhed them only when compelled by pain.

However, when they happen to cry through obſtinacy or perverſeneſs, one ſure way to prevent their continuance, is to divert them by ſome agreeable and ſtriking object, which will make them forget that they wanted to ſquall. Moſt nurſes underſtand this art extremely well; and properly managed, it is attended with utility: yet it is of the utmoſt conſequence not to let the child perceive your intent to divert him, but that he amuſe himſelf without imagining that you are thinking of him: this is what all nurſes are very aukward at.

Children are weaned too ſoon. The time of their being ſevered from the breaſt is pointed out by the cutting of their teeth, a ſymptom generally attended with great pain. Then it is that the infant, by a mechanical inſtinct, puts every thing he lays hold of to his mouth, in order to chew it. People think to facilitate this operation, by giving him ſome hard body to play with, as coral, ivory, or wolf's tooth. I believe they are miſtaken. Thoſe hard bodies applied to the gums, inſtead of ſoftening, render them hard and callous, and of courſe the operation becomes more painful. Let us always be guided by inſtinct. We never ſee young whelps exerciſing their teeth on flints, iron, or bones, but on wood, leather, rags, or other ſoft matter, which yields to the tooth, and receives its impreſſion.

Simplicity is laid aſide in every thing, even in matters relating to children. Nothing but ſilver bells and coral, with cut cryſtals, and trinkets of all ſorts and prices. How idle, nay, how uſeleſs a parade! Let me have no ſilver bells, no corals: young ſprigs with their leaves and fruit; the tops of poppies, in which the rattling of the grains or pippins is heard; a ſtick of liquorice, to ſuck and to maſticate, will divert him much better than thoſe magnificent

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ficient trinkets, without the inconveniency of accuſtoming him to luxury from the moment of his birth.

It is allowed, that pap or thick milk is not a very wholeſome food. Boiled milk and flour make a very bad mixture, and do not well agree with the ſtomach. In pap the flour is not ſo well concocted as in bread, and beſides it has not fermented; panado and rice milk appear to me much preferable. If you abſolutely inſiſt upon having pap, it would be adviſeable to roaſt the flour a little beforehand. In my country, they make of ſuch torrified flour, a very agreeable and wholeſome ſoup. Broth and porridge are alſo indifferent nutriment, which you ſhould therefore uſe as little as poſſible. It is proper that children ſhould be accuſtomed early to chew; this is the true way to promote the cutting of their teeth; and when they begin to ſwallow, the ſalival juices, mixed with aliments, facilitate the digeſtion.

I ſhould therefore make them begin with chewing dried fruits and cruſts of bread. I would give them for play-things, ſmall loaves of hard bread or biſcuit, not unlike the Piedmonteſe bread, which goes by the name of *Griſſes*. By ſoftening this in their mouths, they would at length get ſome of it down, they would cut their teeth, and be weaned almoſt imperceptibly. The peaſants have generally very good ſtomachs, and yet they are never weaned in any other manner.

Children hear people ſpeak as ſoon as they are born; they are talked to, not only before they underſtand what is ſaid, but before they are capable of expreſſing the ſound conveyed to their ear. Their organ being as yet quite ſtiff, does not eaſily comply with the imitation of ſounds ſuggeſted to them; and it is not even certain, that thoſe ſounds are conveyed as diſtinctly to their ears as to ours. I do not diſapprove of the nurſe's amuſing the child with ſongs, and with a variety of harmonious notes; but I am abſolutely

ſolutely againſt her ſtunning his ear with a multitude of uſeleſs words, when he underſtands nothing more than the tone with which they are uttered. Let the firſt articulations he hears be few, eaſy, diſtinct, and often repeated; and let the words they expreſs relate only to ſuch ſenſible objects, as are repreſented to the eye. The fooliſh cuſtom of putting up with words which we do not underſtand, begins ſooner than is commonly imagined. The boy at ſchool attends to the nonſenſe of his maſter, juſt as in his ſwaddling cloaths he liſtened to the prattling of his nurſe. I think it would be inſtructing him very properly, to learn him not to underſtand a word of what he hears.

Reflections croud upon me, when I ſet down to think of the formation of language, and the early prattling of children. Do what you will, they always learn to ſpeak in the ſame manner, and all the ſpeculations of philoſophers on this ſubject, are of no manner of uſe.

At firſt they have in ſome meaſure a grammar of their own, adapted to their age; but their rules of ſyntax are more general than ours: were we to be attentive to their talk, we ſhould be amazed at the exactneſs with which they conform to particular analogies; theſe are defective, I grant you, but very regular, and no way offenſive, except by their roughneſs, or by being grown obſolete. I have lately heard a poor child ſeverely rebuked by his father, for ſaying, *Mon pere, irai-je-t'y*?* Now it is obvious, that the child conformed to the rules of analogy much better than our grammarians; for ſince they ſaid to him, *Vas-y*†, why ſhould not he ſay, *Irai-je-t'y?* Obſerve, moreover, how carefully he avoided the hiatus of *irai-je-y*, or *y irai-je*. Is it the poor thing's fault, if we have been ſo abſurd as to ſtrip the phraſe of that determin-

* *Father, ſhall I go thither.* † *Go thither.*

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ing adverb *y*, becauſe we know not what to do with it. It is arrant pedantry, and an idle precaution, to be too ſcrupulous in correcting all thoſe little errors of children, againſt the received cuſtom of language; ſince they will not fail in time to correct themſelves. Be ſure you ſpeak accurately in their preſence, make them delight in your company, ſo as to prefer it to all other, and, depend upon it, their language will be inſenſibly improved by yours, and you need not be at the trouble of rebuking them.

An abuſe of much greater importance, and not ſo eaſy to prevent, is an impatience to make them talk, as if we were afraid they ſhould not learn of themſelves. This imprudent hurry is productive of an effect diametrically oppoſite to that intended: they are the longer learning to ſpeak, and their language is more confuſed: the great attention given to every thing they ſay, diſpenſes with their articulating properly; and as they ſcarce deign to open their lips, many of them retain, during their whole lives, a vicious pronunciation, and a confuſed way of ſpeaking, which renders their converſation almoſt unintelligible.

I have lived a good deal among country people, and I never heard any of them liſp, not man, woman, or child. What is this owing to? Are the organs of peaſants differently conſtructed from ours? No; but they are differently exerciſed. Over againſt my window is a little hill, where the children of the village meet together to play. Though they are at a good diſtance from me, I can perfectly diſtinguiſh every thing they ſay, and from thence I draw ſome good materials for the preſent treatiſe. My ear is daily deceived with regard to their age; I hear children, whom I judge by their voice to be ten years old; I look out, and find by their ſize and features, that they are only from the age of three to four. This experiment I do not confine entirely to myſelf; my friends, who come to viſit me, and whom I conſult on the occaſion, are apt to fall into the ſame error.

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The cauſe of it is, that infants brought up in great towns, under the eye of a governante, till they are five or ſix years of age, need only to mutter in order to make themſelves underſtood: as ſoon as they move their lips, we take a pleaſure to hear them; we prompt them with words, which they miſpronounce; and by dint of attention, the ſame people being continually about them, are ready to gueſs rather at what they intend to ſay, than what they pronounce.

In the country it is quite otherwiſe. The mother is not continually attending her child; therefore he muſt learn to utter diſtinctly, and with a loud voice, if he deſires to be underſtood. Beſides, the children of peaſants being ſcattered about at ſome diſtance from their parents, and from one another, uſe themſelves to ſpeak ſo as to be heard from afar, and to meaſure the ſtrength of their voice by the ſpace between them and the perſons to whom they addreſs their diſcourſe. This is the true manner of learning to pronounce, and not by liſping a few vowels into the ear of a governante. Therefore when we aſk a queſtion of a peaſant's child, ſhame may prevent him from anſwering; but what he ſays is uttered diſtinctly; whereas the governante muſt ſerve for an interpreter to the young maſter, otherwiſe it will be impoſſible to underſtand what he mutters between his teeth (16).

As boys grow up, they ſhould endeavour to break themſelves of this defect in colleges; and girls in convents; and indeed both the one and the other pronounce more diſtinctly in general, than thoſe that

(16) This is not without exception; there are children who with great difficulty make themſelves heard at firſt, and yet ſtun you, when they begin to raiſe their voice. But were I to enter into every detail, I ſhould never have done; every ſenſible reader will ſee that the exceſs and defect, proceeding from the ſame abuſe, may be corrected alike by my method. Theſe two maxims I look upon as inſeparable, *always enough*; *never too much*. From the former properly eſtabliſhed, the latter follows.

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have had a domeſtic education. But what prevents their ever having ſo articulate an utterance as that of the peaſants is, their being obliged to learn many things by heart, and to recite aloud what they have thus committed to memory. For as they are getting their leſſon, they run it over in a hurry, and pronounce it careleſsly and ill: in reciting, it is ſtill worſe; they ſtrain themſelves, as it were, in the ſearch of the words, and they drawl out their ſyllables; for it is impoſſible, but that when the memory ſtumbles, the tongue ſhould move ſlowly. Thus are the defects of utterance contracted, and thus retained. You ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this work, that my Emilius has none of theſe defects; or, at leaſt, that his contracting them did not proceed from the ſame cauſe.

I readily grant, that the common people and villagers fall into the other extreme, that is, they ſpeak louder than there is occaſion, and, by pronouncing too exactly, their articulations are rude and unharmonious; beſides they have too ſtrong an accent, and have no judgment in chuſing their expreſſions, &c.

In anſwer to this, in the firſt place, this extreme appears to me leſs defective than the other; for ſince the principal rule of ſpeech is to make yourſelf underſtood, the greateſt fault that can be committed on that head, is to expreſs yourſelf ſo as not to convey your meaning. To glory in not having a tone or accent, is the ſame as if you boaſted of ſtripping your expreſſions of their whole grace and energy. Accent is the ſoul of diſcourſe; which from thence derives both truth and ſentiment. This modification of the voice is leſs liable to deceive than the words themſelves; and hence it is, that well-bred perſons are ſo ſorely afraid of it. The cuſtom of uttering every thing in the ſame accent, occaſions people's acquiring a tone without their perceiving it. When the accent is laid aſide, you obſerve a ridicu-

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lous pronunciation introduced in its ſtead; a pronunciation extremely affected, and ſubject to mode and faſhion, ſuch as is practiſed by young perſons of quality. This affectation of ſpeech and behaviour is what, generally ſpeaking, renders the French manner of accoſting diſagreeable and forbidding to other nations. Inſtead of expreſſing themſelves with an accent, they ſpeak with an air; which is not the way to prejudice ſtrangers in their favour.

All theſe blemiſhes of ſpeech, which we are ſo much afraid of in regard to children, are of no ſignification, and may be eaſily corrected: but thoſe we cauſe them to commit, by rendering their ſpeech indiſtinct and timid, by continually finding fault with their tone of voice, and picking out their words, are never cured. A man that learnt to ſpeak only at a ridotto, would hardly be underſtood at the head of a battalion, or make any impreſſion on the populace in the caſe of an inſurrection. Let children learn firſt to ſpeak to men; they will know how to talk to women on a proper occaſion.

Your children being brought up with a ruſtic ſimplicity, in the country, will have a more ſonorous voice, and not contract that confuſed liſping of boys in town; neither will they learn the expreſſions nor the tone of villagers, at leaſt they will ſoon be cured of this defect, as their maſter is ſuppoſed to live with them in the ſame houſe, from the time they are ſent to nurſe; and may eaſily rectify, by his own language, any impreſſion made by that of the peaſants. Emilius will ſpeak as pure and as good French, as any perſon I know, but he will deliver himſelf more diſtinctly, and articulate better than I.

In order that a child may ſpeak properly, he ought to hear only ſuch words as he is capable of underſtanding, and to utter none but ſuch as he can articulate. The efforts he makes for this purpoſe induce him to repeat the ſame ſyllable, with a view, as it were, of learning to pronounce it more diſtinctly

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tinctly. When he begins to ſtammer, do not trouble your head to find out what he ſays. To expect to be always heard, is a kind of authority and command; and a child ought to have none. It is ſufficient for you to provide all neceſſaries for him with the utmoſt care: it is his buſineſs to make you underſtand what is not neceſſary. Much leſs are you to be in ſo great a hurry in requiring him to ſpeak; he will ſoon know how to prattle of himſelf, in proportion as he becomes ſenſible of the uſe of it.

It has been obſerved, I confeſs, that children who are long before they learn to ſpeak, never expreſs themſelves ſo perfectly as others; but their learning late is not the cauſe of their having any impediment in the organ of ſpeech; on the contrary, it is the effect of ſome obſtruction in the organ: otherwiſe what ſhould make them later than others? Have they leſs occaſion, and are they leſs excited, to ſpeak? So far from that, the uneaſineſs we give ourſelves about this delay, as ſoon as we perceive it, is the reaſon of our taking infinitely more pains to make them ſtammer, than thoſe that have attained an earlier articulation; and their miſapprehending this uneaſineſs may greatly contribute to render their ſpeech more confuſed; whereas, with leſs precipitation, they might have had time to amend and improve it.

Children, who are too much hurried on to ſpeech, have not had leiſure to learn to pronounce properly, nor to apprehend what is ſaid to them. But when they are ſuffered to go their own way, they exerciſe themſelves at firſt in pronouncing the eaſieſt ſyllables, and, as they gradually join to thoſe ſyllables ſome ſignification, underſtood by their geſtures, they give you their words before they receive yours; and this will make them not receive yours, till they have underſtood them. As they are not preſſed or hurried to make uſe of thoſe words, they begin with obſerving the ſignification you give them, and when they know that with certainty, they adopt them as their own.

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The greateſt inconveniency in hurrying children on to ſpeech before their time, is not that the firſt words they hear, and the firſt they pronounce, bear no meaning in regard to them; but that they have quite a different meaning from ours, without our perceiving it; inſomuch, that while they ſeem to anſwer exactly, they neither underſtand us, nor we them. It is in conſequence of ſuch ambiguities, that we are ſo often ſurprized at their diſcourſe, which we take in quite a different ſenſe from what they intended. This inattention on our part to the real meaning in which the words are underſtood by children, appears to me the cauſe of their firſt errors: and theſe, even after they have been removed, have a great influence on their turn of mind the remainder of their lives. I ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel, to illuſtrate this obſervation by ſeveral examples.

I would therefore adviſe you to contract the child's vocabulary as much as poſſible. That he ſhould have more words than ideas, and that he ſhould name more objects than he knows, is a very great inconveniency. I really believe that one reaſon, why the country people, generally ſpeaking, think more juſtly than the inhabitants of towns, is, becauſe their dictionary is not ſo extenſive. They have very few ideas, but they compare them well.

The firſt improvements of infancy are formed almoſt all at once. They learn to talk, to eat, to walk, nearly at the ſame time. This is properly the firſt epocha or ſtage of human life. Hitherto our pupil was no more than he had been in his mother's womb; he had no perception, no idea, and ſcarce had he any ſenſation he was not even ſenſible of his own exiſtence.

Vivit, et eſt vitæ neſcius ipſe ſuæ (17).

(17) Ovid. Triſt. l. 3.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.

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C. Eisen inv. J. V. Schley f.

CHIRON & ACHILE, Livre II.

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EMILIUS;

OR, AN

ESSAY on EDUCATION.

BOOK the SECOND.

WE are now entered upon the ſecond ſtage of life, and here it is, that infancy properly terminates; for the words, *infans* and *puer*, are not ſynonymous. The former is comprized in the latter, and ſignifies *one who cannot ſpeak*; and hence it is, that we meet in Valerius Maximus with *puerum infantem*. But I continue to make uſe of this word, according to the practice of the French language*, till the age, at which it receives another denomination.

As ſoon as infants begin to prattle, they are leſs ſubject to cry. This progreſſion is natural; one language is ſubſtituted in the place of another. When they are able to expreſs their pain or uneaſineſs by words, why ſhould they do it by tears, unleſs the pain is too violent for words to expreſs? If they continue to ſcream, it is the fault of thoſe about them. When once Emilius has ſaid, *I am ill*, it muſt be a very acute pain, that will make him cry.

* The ſame has been obſerved in the tranſlation in regard to the Engliſh word *infancy*.

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If the child is of ſo ſenſible and delicate a frame, as to ſet up a noiſe almoſt for nothing; by rendering his tears of no effect, you will ſoon dry up their ſource. So long as he keeps ſcreaming, never go near him; but run to him as ſoon as he is quiet. His method of calling you will quickly be, either to lie ſtill, or at the moſt to make but one ſcream. It is by the ſenſible effect of ſigns that children judge of their meaning; there is no other agreement in regard to them; let a child be never ſo much hurt, he will ſeldom ſcream out, when he is alone, unleſs he has ſome expectation of being heard.

Should he happen to have a fall, to hurt his forehead, to bleed in the noſe, or to cut his finger, inſtead of running towards him in a kind of fright, I ſhall abide where I am, at leaſt, for a little while. The miſchief is done, and he muſt bear it; all my ſollicitude and hurry would only frighten him the more, and augment his ſenſibility. In the main, it is not ſo much the blow, as the apprehenſion, that makes us uneaſy, when we are wounded. I ſhall prevent his being troubled with the latter; for he will certainly judge of his complaint as he ſees me take it; if he perceives that I run towards him with uneaſineſs, to conſole and cheriſh him, he will think himſelf undone; but if he ſees me cool and tranquil, he will ſoon recover from his fright, and conſider the wound as cured, when he no longer feels it. This is the age in which we learn the firſt rudiments of courage, when by bearing ſlight pains, we are gradually enured to torture.

Far am I from deſiring that Emilius ſhould never receive any hurt; on the contrary, I ſhould be very much concerned, were he never to have a cut or wound, or not to experience the nature of pain. To ſuffer is the firſt and moſt uſeful knowledge he can acquire. Infants ſeem to have been framed with infirm little bodies, only to learn thoſe uſeful leſſons without danger. If a child falls down, he does not break

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break his leg; if he hits himſelf a blow with a ſtick, he does not diſlocate an arm; if he takes up a knife, he does not graſp it faſt, nor cut himſelf too deep. I never heard an inſtance of a child, left alone, that killed, maimed, or did himſelf any other conſiderable harm, unleſs he were indiſcreetly expoſed on ſome high place, or left near the fire, or ſome dangerous tools were laid within his reach. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe numerous machines, which are put round a child, in order to arm him at all points againſt pain? When he comes of age, he is void of courage and experience, he thinks himſelf dead at the prick of a pin, and faints away upon ſeeing the leaſt drop of blood.

Such is our pedantic folly in regard to children, that we are continually teaching them what they would learn much better of themſelves, while we neglect to direct them, where they are in abſolute want of our aſſiſtance. Can any thing be more abſurd than the pains people take, to learn them to walk, as if ever there had been an inſtance of a child, who, through the careleſſneſs of his nurſe, was incapable of this motion, when he came to a proper age? On the contrary, how many do we ſee walk very ill during their whole lives, becauſe they had been ill taught in their infancy.

Emilius ſhall neither have puddings, nor go-carts, nor leading-ſtrings; at leaſt, till he begins to know how to put one foot before another, he ſhall not be held up, but on the pavement, and here he ſhall continue as little as poſſible (1). Inſtead of ſtifling him in a cloſe room, let him be carried out every day into the open fields. There let him run, and tumble about; let him fall a hundred times a day, ſo much the better; he will ſoon learn to raiſe him-

(1) Nothing is more ridiculous and more tottering than the gait of people, who have been much uſed to leading-ſtrings in their childhood; this is one of thoſe obſervations that are become trivial by being juſt, and that are juſt in more ſenſes than one.

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ſelf from the ground. The advantage of liberty makes amends for hurts and falls. My pupil will have many contuſions; on the other hand he will be always chearful; yours indeed have fewer, but then their ſubjection and confinement renders them always gloomy. I queſtion whether the advantage is on their ſide.

There is ſtill another improvement, which renders crying leſs neceſſary to children; it is that of ſtrength. As they have now a greater power of acting by themſelves, they have leſs occaſion to require aſſiſtance. With the increaſe of ſtrength the underſtanding begins to ſhew itſelf, and renders them capable of directing it. At this ſecond degree properly commences the life of the individual; for then he begins to be conſcious of himſelf. Memory extends the notion of identity to every moment of his exiſtence; he becomes truly one and the ſame, conſequently capable of happineſs or miſery. We muſt therefore begin here to conſider him as a moral being.

Though the longeſt term of human life, and the probability of attaining that term at every ſtage, may be calculated pretty nearly, nothing is more precarious than the life of each individual; there are very few who arrive at that period. The greateſt hazards are in the commencement of life; the leſs a perſon has lived, the leſs ought he to expect to live. Out of the prodigious number of children which every nation produces, not above one half arrive at the ſtate of adoleſcence, and it is probable your pupil will not reach that of manhood.

What muſt we therefore think of that barbarous education, which ſacrifices the preſent to an uncertain futurity; which oppreſſes an infant with chains of every kind, and begins with rendering him miſerable, in order to prepare him for I know not what pretended happineſs, which very likely he will never enjoy? Were I even to ſuppoſe this education reaſonable in its object, how can we bear to ſee the little unfortu-

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nates groaning under a heavy yoke, and condemned, like galley ſlaves, to perpetual labour, without having a certainty that their hardſhip will be productive of any advantage? The age of chearfulneſs and mirth is ſpent amidſt tears, chaſtiſement, and ſervile threats. The poor wretch is tortured for his good, while death is advancing apace, and ready to ſeize him, though we do not ſee it, in the midſt of this melancholy apparatus. Who can tell how many children fall a ſacrifice to the extravagant precaution of a parent or preceptor? Happy in eſcaping out of the tyrant's hands, the only advantage they derive from their hardſhips is, to quit this life without regret, as it never had any ſweets for them, but was embittered with conſtant pain.

You that are men, feel like men; this is your firſt duty: be humane to every ſtate, to every age, to every thing not foreign to your ſpecies. What wiſdom or philoſophy can you be ſaid to have without humanity? Be fond of infants; encourage their ſports, their pleaſures, their amiable inclinations. Is there one of us all, but has often regretted that period of life, which was ſpent in play and laughter, when the heart was always at reſt? Why ſhould you deprive thoſe little innocents of ſo fleeting an enjoyment, of a bleſſing it is not in their power to abuſe? Why do you embitter thoſe tender years, which fly ſo rapidly, to return no more for them, than yours can for you? Parents, do you know the critical moment when death awaits your children? Do not prepare repentance to yourſelves, by depriving them of the few minutes allowed them by nature: as ſoon as they become ſenſible of the pleaſure of exiſting, let them enjoy it; behave in ſuch a manner, that whenever God is pleaſed to call them to himſelf, they ſhall not depart this life without having taſted ſome of its ſweets.

I know I ſhall have a number of opponents. I hear from afar the din and clamour of thoſe pre-

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tended ſages, who continually diſturb our quiet, by reckoning the preſent time as nothing, and by aſpiring to a future good, which eludes their moſt eager purſuit: the tranſporting us to imaginary, deprives us of real, enjoyments.

This is, you will anſwer me, the ſeaſon for correcting the depraved inclinations of man; infants being leſs ſenſible of pain, ought to feel the more of it, in order to fear it leſs at the age of maturity. But who told you, that this regulation is in your power, and that theſe fine inſtructions, with which you fill the head of an ignorant child, will not be one day of more prejudice than uſe to him? Can you be ſure to ſave him any future trouble, by his preſent uneaſineſs? Why do you heap upon him more miſery than his ſtate is able to ſupport, without being ſure that the preſent will preſerve him from future evils? And how will you prove, that thoſe vicious inclinations, of which you pretend to cure him, do not rather proceed from your injudicious ſollicitude, than from nature? Unhappy precaution, to render a being actually miſerable, in hope of diſtant and uncertain happineſs! But if theſe vulgar reaſoners confound licentiouſneſs with liberty, and a ſpoilt child with one who is made happy, let us ſhew them the difference.

To prevent any miſtakes, let us not forget what is agreeable to our condition. Humanity has its place in the order of things; infancy has alſo its place in the order of human life: we muſt conſider humanity in man, and infancy in infants. To aſſign to each his place, and there to fix him, to range the human paſſions according to the conſtitution of man, is all that we can do for his welfare. The remainder depends on foreign cauſes, which are not in our power.

We know not the nature of abſolute happineſs or miſery. Every thing is chequered in life; we taſte nothing pure, neither do we continue two minutes in

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in the ſame ſituation. The affections of the mind, as well as the modifications of the body, are in a continual flux. Good and evil are common to all, but in different meaſures. The happieſt is he who ſuffers the leaſt pain; the moſt miſerable, he who enjoys the leaſt pleaſure. Still there is more ſuffering than enjoyment; and this is the difference common to all. Human felicity is therefore no more than a negative ſtate; and ought to be meaſured by the leaſt quantity of evil.

Every ſenſation of pain is inſeparable from the deſire of getting rid of it. Every ſenſation of pleaſure is inſeparable from the deſire of enjoying it: deſire ſuppoſes privation, and every privation we feel is painful: miſery therefore conſiſts in the diſproportion between our deſires and our powers. A ſenſible being, with powers equal to his deſires, would be abſolutely happy.

In what is it then that human wiſdom, or the road to true happineſs conſiſts? Not in the bare diminution of our deſires; for were they to fall ſhort of our power, part of our faculties would be ſuperfluous, and we ſhould not enjoy our whole exiſtence: nor in the enlarging of our faculties; for, if our deſires were to increaſe at the ſame time, in a greater proportion, we ſhould only be rendered more miſerable. It conſiſts therefore in reducing the exceſs of our deſires, and in eſtabliſhing a perfect equality between power and will. Then, and then only, all the powers being in action, the ſoul remains tranquil, and the human machine is in perfect order.

Thus is man regulated at firſt by nature, who always acts for the beſt. She gives him no more deſires than are neceſſary for his preſervation, and only ſuch faculties as are ſufficient to ſatisfy them. All the others ſhe has placed in reſerve, to be drawn forth when occaſion requires: it is only in this primitive ſtate, that the equilibrium of power and deſire is found, and man is not unhappy. As ſoon as his vir-

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virtual powers are put in motion, fancy, the ſprightlieſt of them all, endeavours to outſtrip the reſt. It is fancy that extends, in regard to us, the meaſure of poſſibilities in good or evil; and of courſe that ſtimulates and nouriſhes our deſires by the expectation of ſatisfying them. But the object, which appeared at firſt to be near, eludes your purſuit; and when you think you are ready to graſp it, it flies away with the greateſt rapidity. As the country we have gone through is now out of ſight, we reckon it as nothing; the remaining proſpect continually enlarges; thus we exhauſt ourſelves, without reaching the term; and the more enjoyment we gain, the further are we from true felicity.

On the contrary, the nearer a man continues to his natural condition, the ſmaller the difference between his faculties and deſires, and of courſe the leſs diſtant is he from happineſs. Never is he leſs miſerable, than when he ſeems to be deſtitute of every thing; for miſery does not conſiſt in the privation of things, but in our being affected by that privation.

The real world has its boundaries, the imaginary is infinite; as we cannot enlarge the one, let us contract the other; for it is only the difference between thoſe two, that produces the trouble and vexation, which render us really miſerable. Set aſide ſtrength, health, and a good conſcience, all the bleſſings of this life conſiſt in opinion; take away pain and remorſe, and all evils are imaginary. This is a common principle, you will ſay; I agree; but the application is not common, and it is of this only I am treating.

When you call a man feeble, what is it you mean? This word *feeble* imports a relation of the being to which it is applied. He, whoſe powers exceed his wants, were he an inſect, or a worm, is a ſtrong being: he, whoſe wants ſurpaſs his force, were he an elephant, or a lion, were he a conqueror, a hero, or even

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even a god, is weak and impotent. The rebel angel, who miſtook his nature, is feebler than the happy mortal, who demeans himſelf peaceably, according to his preſent condition. Man is very ſtrong, when ſatisfied with being what he is: ſhould he deſire to raiſe himſelf above humanity, he is extremely feeble. Do not, therefore, imagine, that, by extending your faculties, you increaſe your ſtrength; on the contrary, you diminiſh that ſtrength, ſhould your pride go beyond it. Let us meaſure the radius of our ſphere, and continue in the center, as the ſpider in the midſt of its web; we ſhall always have ſtrength ſufficient for our own uſe; neither will there be any reaſon to complain of our weakneſs, as we ſhall not feel it.

All brute animals have exactly the powers neceſſary for their preſervation: man alone has more than neceſſary. Is it not ſtrange, that this very ſuperfluity ſhould be the cauſe of his miſery? In all countries, a man's arm is worth more than his ſubſiſtence. Were he wiſe enough to reckon this ſuperfluity as nothing, he would always have what is neceſſary; becauſe he never would have too much. Great wants, ſaid Favorinus (2), ariſe from great riches; and oftentimes the beſt way to procure the things we need, is to deprive ourſelves of thoſe we have: it is by dint of toiling to increaſe our happineſs, that we change it into miſery. Every man that endeavoured only to live, would be happy, and of courſe would be virtuous and honeſt; for what advantage could he receive by being otherwiſe?

Were we immortal, we ſhould be very miſerable indeed. It is hard we muſt die, without doubt; but it is pleaſant to think, we ſhall not live here for ever, and that the joys of a better place will ſucceed the pains of this. Were we to be offered immortality upon earth, who is it would accept ſo melan-

(2) Noct. Attic. l. ix. c. 8.

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choly a preſent? What hope or comfort ſhould we have to buoy us up againſt adverſe fortune, and the tide of human iniquity? The ignorant man, who has no foreſight, and knows but little of the intrinſic value of life, is afraid of loſing it; the man of knowledge aſpires to bleſſings of greater importance. The half-knowing, and pretenders to wiſdom, by extending our views no farther than death, render it the moſt terrible of all evils. The neceſſity of dying is, to a wiſe man, only a reaſon for bearing the trouble and vexation of life. Were we not certain of loſing it ſome time or other, it would coſt us too much to preſerve it.

All our moral evils conſiſt in opinion, ſave only one, which is guilt, and that is in our own breaſts; our phyſical evils either deſtroy themſelves, or us. Time and death are our remedy: but our ſufferings are the greater, as we are leſs practiſed in that ſchool; and we undergo more pain to get cured of our maladies, than we ſhould have ſuffered in bearing them. Live purſuant to nature, be patient, and have nothing to do with phyſicians: thou wilt not eſcape death, but thou wilt feel it only once: whereas the phyſicians convey it every day to thy diſtempered brain; and their fallacious art, inſtead of lengthening thy life, debars thee from enjoying it. Still ſhould I be glad to know, what real good this art has ever done to mankind? Some of thoſe, whom it has cured, would have died, I own; but the millions it has killed would have ſurvived. Man, if thou haſt ſenſe, do not put into this lottery; there are too many chances againſt thee: ſuffer, die, or get cured; but, above all, live to thy laſt hour.

Human inſtitutions are all folly and contradiction. We give ourſelves more uneaſineſs about life, in proportion as it begins to decreaſe in value. Old people are more afraid of death than young; they do not chuſe to loſe the preparations they have made for enjoying life; it is cruel for a perſon to die at the

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age of ſixty, before ever he began to live. Mankind are ſuppoſed to have a ſtrong paſſion for ſelf-preſervation, and that is true; but we do not reflect, that this paſſion, as we feel it, is, in a great meaſure, the work of man. Naturally ſpeaking, people give themſelves no trouble about life, but when the means of preſerving it are in their power; as ſoon as they have loſt thoſe means, they make themſelves eaſy, and patiently ſubmit to their diſſolution. The firſt law of reſignation is derived from nature. The ſavages, as well as brutes, ſtruggle very little with death; nay, they go off the ſtage almoſt without complaint. This law deſtroyed, another is derived from reaſon, but few know how to infer it; and this factitious reſignation is not ſo full and entire as the former.

Foreſight! foreſight! this it is that continually tranſports us beyond ourſelves, and often places us in thought where we ſhall never really arrive; this is the ſource of all our miſery. How great the madneſs of ſo tranſitory a being as man, to be continually employed in the contemplation of a diſtant and uncertain futurity; while he neglects the preſent certainty! The conſequence of this madneſs is the more dangerous, as it continually increaſes with age; for old men are worked up to that degree of diffidence, precaution, and avarice, that they chuſe rather to deprive themſelves of neceſſaries, than to be neceſſitous a hundred years hence. This is what induces us to catch at every thing; time, place, objects of every kind, in ſhort, whatever is, or will be, are important to us all: our individual is now the leaſt part of us. Each perſon extends himſelf, in ſome meaſure, over the intire globe, and acquires a ſenſibility relative to this great ſurface. Is it amazing, that our evils ſhould be multiplied wherever we are capable of being hurt? How many princes are diſconſolate for the loſs of a country they never ſaw? How many merchants ſhed tears at Paris, only by being touched in the Eaſt-Indies?

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Is it nature, that thus tranſports us ſo far beyond ourſelves? Is it nature, that requires every man to learn his deſtiny of others, and ſometimes to be the laſt that learned it; ſo that ſuch a man died happy or miſerable, without having ever known any thing concerning the matter? I ſee, for inſtance, a gay, healthful man, of a vigorous conſtitution; his preſence inſpires the company with joy, his eyes ſparkle with content; in ſhort, he is the very picture of felicity. This happy man receives a letter by the poſt, looks on it, finds it directed to himſelf, opens, and reads it. Immediately his air is changed, he turns pale, and faints away. Upon coming to himſelf, he begins to weep, he tears his hair, utters deep groans, and makes the air reſound with his lamentations; in ſhort, he ſeems attacked with frightful convulſions. Fool, what harm has that paper done thee? What member has it ſevered from thy body? What crime, what murder has it made thee commit? In fine, what change has it operated within thee, to throw thee into this frightful ſituation?

Had the letter miſcarried, had a charitable hand thrown it into the fire, the fate of this mortal, who may, at the ſame time, be ſtiled happy and miſerable, would have been, in my opinion, an extraordinary problem. His miſery, you will ſay, was real. Well; but he did not feel it: what was become of him then? His happineſs was imaginary; I underſtand you; health, jollity, and content of mind are mere viſions. No longer do we exiſt where we are, but where we are not. Is it worth while to have ſo great a terror and apprehenſion of death, provided that, in which we live, continues ſafe and unhurt?

O man, contract thy exiſtence within thyſelf, and thou wilt never be miſerable. Abide in that ſpot which nature hath aſſigned thee in the chain of beings; nothing can turn thee out of it: do not kick or wince againſt the hard law of neceſſity; nor, by en-

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endeavouring to reſiſt it, exhauſt that force, which the Supreme has given thee, not to extend or prolong thy exiſtence, but only to preſerve it ſo long as he pleaſes, and in the manner agreeable to his divine goodneſs. Thy liberty, thy power, extend no farther than thy natural ſtrength; all the reſt is ſlavery and deception. Even dominion is ſervile, when connected with opinion; for thou dependeſt on the prejudices of thoſe, whom thou governeſt by prejudices. In order to direct them according to thy pleaſure, thou muſt be directed according to theirs. They have only to alter their manner of thinking, and thou wilt ſoon be obliged to change thy manner of acting. Thoſe who approach thy perſon, need only to know how to guide the opinions of the people, whom thou thinkeſt to govern; or thoſe of ſome favourite courtier, who governs thee; or thoſe of thy ſervants, or thy own. A viſir, a courtier, a prieſt, a ſoldier, a valet, or even a little boy, wert thou as great a genius as Themiſtocles (3), will lead thee along like a child, amidſt thy legions. In vain doſt thou pretend to mighty matters; never will thy real authority go a jot farther than thy real faculties. When once thou beginneſt to ſee with other people's eyes, thou muſt act alſo by their will. My people are my ſubjects, ſayeſt thou, with a diſdainful air. Be it ſo; but who art thou? A ſubject of thy miniſters: and thy miniſters, who are they? Subjects of their clerks, of their miſtreſſes, and even ſlaves to their valets. Go then, and drive every thing before thee; uſurp every power and dominion; ſcatter money all round thee, with a profuſe hand;

(3) That little boy, you ſee yonder, ſaid Themiſtocles to his friends, is the arbiter of all Greece; for he governs his mother, his mother governs me, I govern the Athenians, and the Athenians govern the reſt of Greece. O what mean conductors ſhould we often behold in the greateſt empires, if, from the prince, we deſcended gradually to the firſt hand that puts the wheel into motion.

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erect batteries of cannon; raiſe gibbets, and wheels; publiſh thy laws and edicts; multiply thy ſpies, ſoldiers, executioners, priſons, and chains; what will all this avail thee, poor ſoul? Thou wilt neither be better ſerved, nor leſs deceived, nor leſs robbed, nor more abſolute. Thou continueſt always to ſay, We will; and yet thou muſt always act according to the will of others.

The only perſon who does his own will, is he, who has no need of another's arm to lengthen his own; whence it follows, that the chief of human bleſſings is not authority, but liberty. The man really free, wills only what is in his power, and does what he pleaſes. This is my fundamental maxim. You have only to apply it to infants; and the whole ſyſtem of education will naturally flow from thence.

Society has weakened man, not only by diveſting him of the right he had to his own force, but eſpecially by rendering it inſufficient for his defence. Hence his deſires are multiplied, together with his weakneſs; and this is what conſtitutes the impotency of infants, compared to the ſtrength of adults. If a man in full growth be ſtrong, and an infant weak, it is not becauſe the former has more abſolute force than the latter, but becauſe the one is naturally able to help himſelf, the other is not. It follows therefore, that a man muſt have more will, and an infant more fancy; by which word I underſtand, all deſires that are not real wants, and cannot be ſatisfied without another's aſſiſtance.

I have mentioned the reaſon of this ſtate of weakneſs. Nature provides for it by the affection of parents; but this affection may be carried to exceſs, may be defective, may be abuſed. Parents, who live in ſociety, introduce their children into this civil ſtate before they are of a proper age. By giving them more wants than they really have from nature, they do not relieve, but increaſe their weakneſs.

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They increaſe it likewiſe, by requiring any thing from them, that is not required by nature; by ſubjecting to their will what little force the poor infants have to execute their own; by changing the mutual dependence, in which their children are kept by their weakneſs, and themſelves by their attachment; by changing it, I ſay, on one ſide, or other into ſlavery.

The prudent man knows how to continue in his proper place; but the infant, who has no knowledge of his place, cannot fix his reſidence. Beſides, as things are circumſtanced with us, he has a thouſand ways to alter his ſituation; it is the province of thoſe who have him under their care, to confine him to a ſpot; and this is not a very eaſy taſk. He muſt neither be a brute nor a man, but a child; he muſt feel, but not ſuffer by his weakneſs; he muſt depend, but not obey; he muſt pray, and not command. He is ſubject to others only on account of his wants, and becauſe they ſee better than he what is conducive to his advantage, and may be favourable, or hurtful, to his preſervation. No body has a right, not even a father, to command a child to do a thing, that is of no manner of uſe.

Before our natural inclinations were altered by prejudices and human inſtitutions, the felicity of children, as well as of grown-up perſons, conſiſted in the uſe of their liberty; but this liberty in the former is limited by their weakneſs. Whoſoever does what he pleaſes, is happy, if he acts by himſelf; and this is the caſe of man, living in a ſtate of nature. Whoſoever does what he pleaſes, is not happy, if his wants exceed his ſtrength; and this is the caſe of infants in the ſame ſtate. Even in the ſtate of nature, children enjoy but an imperfect liberty, like that of men in civil ſociety. As we cannot do without the aſſiſtance of one another, we all become, in that reſpect, impotent and miſerable. We were formed to be men; laws and ſociety have made us infants. The rich, the great, even kings themſelves, are

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children; who perceiving the eagerneſs of courtiers to relieve their miſery, are puffed up with vanity, and proud of an attendance, which would not be paid them, were they arrived at manhood.

Theſe conſiderations are of great conſequence, and help to reconcile all the contradictions of the ſocial ſyſtem. There are two ſorts of dependences. That of things, which is from nature; that of man, from ſociety. The dependence of things having no morality, is not prejudicial to liberty, nor productive of vice: the dependence of man, being diſorderly and irregular (4), engenders every vice; and it is by that the maſter and ſlave corrupt each other. If there be any poſſibility of remedying this evil in ſociety, it is by ſubſtituting the law in the place of man, and arming the general will of the whole with a real force, ſuperior to that of every individual. If the law of nations were capable, like thoſe of nature, of acquiring an inflexibility ſuperior to human force, the dependence of men would once more become that of things; all the advantages of the ſtate of nature would be reunited to thoſe of civil polity; and the liberty, which preſerves man from vice, would receive the addition of morality, which dignifies the human mind, and raiſes it to the ſublimeſt virtues.

Confine the child to the dependence of things only; and, in the courſe of his education, you will conform to the order of nature. Never oppoſe his deſire, however indiſcreet, with any other than phyſical obſtructions, and with puniſhments ariſing from the actions themſelves, which he may eaſily recollect: without forbidding him, it is ſufficient to hinder him from doing amiſs. Experience or impotency ought alone to ſupply the place of law in regard to your pupil. Never let him have any thing, becauſe he aſks, but becauſe he wants it. Let him

(4) In my Principles of Politic Law, it is demonſtrated, that no particular will can be commanded in the ſocial ſyſtem.

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not know what obedience is, when he acts; nor what authority is, when others act for him. Let him be ſenſible of his liberty, alike in his own actions, and in yours. Supply his want of force juſt ſo much as is neceſſary for him to be free and not imperious; while he accepts of your ſervice with a kind of humiliation, let him aſpire to the moment when he can do without it, and when he will have the honour of waiting upon himſelf.

To ſtrengthen the body, and make it grow, nature has ways and means, which ought not to be oppoſed. You ſhould not compel a child to abide in a place, when he wants to be gone; nor to be gone, when he is deſirous to ſtay. If children be not ſpoilt by ourſelves, they never have any uſeleſs deſires. They ought to be ſuffered to leap, to run, and to hollow, when they have a mind. All their motions are ſo many wants in their conſtitution, which is endeavouring to gather ſtrength; but we ſhould be much upon our guard with reſpect to ſuch deſires as they are not able to fulfill of themſelves, but are obliged to aſk the aſſiſtance of others. Then we ought carefully to diſtinguiſh real and natural want from that which is imaginary, and begins now to riſe; or from that created by the abovementioned ſuperfluities of life.

We have already taken notice of what is proper to be done, when a child cries for every trifle. I ſhall only add, that as ſoon as he is able to expreſs his deſire by words, and to obtain it the more readily, or to conquer a refuſal, he backs his petition with tears, it ought, by no means, to be granted. If want has [illegible] him to ſpeak, you ſhould know it, and immediately comply with his deſire; but to yield to his tears, is encouraging him to ſhed them every moment; is teaching him to doubt of your good will; and to think that his importunity can make a greater impreſſion on you, than your own good nature and affection. If he does not believe you to be

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a good man, he will ſoon be a bad child; if he thinks you feeble, he will quickly be obſtinate; and therefore it behoves you, always to grant to him, at the firſt ſign, whatever you do not intend to deny him. Do not be laviſh in your refuſals; but never recall them.

But above all, take care you do not let your pupil learn thoſe ceremonious forms of politeneſs, which he is to make uſe of afterwards, as a kind of ſpell, to ſubdue every body about him, and to obtain immediately whatever he aſks. In faſhioning the education of the children of the wealthy, care is always taken to render them politely imperious, by preſcribing ſuch terms for them, as no body dare refuſe: their children have neither the tone nor voice of ſupplicants; they are as inſolent, or rather more ſo, when they pray, as when they command; becauſe they are much ſurer of being obeyed. Thus it is obvious, that, in their mouths, *if you pleaſe*, ſignifies *it is my pleaſure*; and *I pray you*, implies *I command you*. Admirable politeneſs! which terminates only in changing the ſignification of words, and in never ſpeaking but with an air of authority. For my part, as I am leſs afraid, that Emilius ſhould be clowniſh than arrogant, I had rather hear him ſay, in a gentle tone, *do this*, than *I pray you*, with an air of command. I do not ſo much mind his expreſſion as his meaning.

There are two exceſſes; one of rigour, the other of indulgence, both equally to be avoided. If you let children ſuffer, you endanger their healths and their lives, and you moreover render them actually miſerable: if you are over ſolicitous to guard them againſt every the leaſt hurt or inconveniency, you only expoſe them to future miſery; by rendering them too delicate, you diveſt them of the human ſtate, to which they will one day or other return, in ſpite of all your endeavours. To prevent their being expoſed to a few natural evils, you give them ſuch as are merely artificial. You will tell me, that

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I am fallen into the caſe of thoſe bad fathers, whom I rebuked for ſacrificing the preſent happineſs of their children to the conſideration of a diſtant and uncertain advantage.

Not at all: the liberty I allow my pupil is an ample indemnity for the ſlight inconveniencies, to which I leave him expoſed. I ſee a parcel of little boys playing in the ſnow, their faces livid, quite benumbed with cold, and hardly able to move their fingers. They have it in their power to warm themſelves, whenever they liſt; and yet they go on with their play: were they to be compelled to it, they would be infinitely more ſenſible of the ſeverity of the conſtraint, than they are of the cold. Why then do you complain? Shall I render your child miſerable, by expoſing him only to inconveniencies, which he is rejoiced to ſuffer? I ſtudy his preſent good, by leaving him at his liberty; and his future good, by arming him againſt evils, to which he muſt be hereafter ſubject. Had he his option to be your pupil or mine, do you think he would heſitate a moment?

Is there a poſſibility of enjoying any real happineſs beyond the limits of our natural conſtitution? And is it not exceeding the limits of a child's ſituation, to attempt exempting him alike from all the evils, to which his ſpecies is ſubject? I maintain, it is: to be ſenſible of great advantages, he muſt feel little hardſhips; ſuch is his natural frame. If too much care is taken of his health, his manners are vitiated. The man who is an utter ſtranger to pain, knows no tender ſentiment of humanity, no tear of compaſſion; were his heart inſenſible to every affection, he would be unfit for ſociety; he would be a monſter in nature.

Do you know the ſureſt way to make your child miſerable? Accuſtom him to obtain every thing he aſks; for his deſires inceſſantly increaſing by the facility of indulging them, ſooner or later you will be obliged, againſt your will, to come to a refuſal; and

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and this being unuſual, muſt give him more pain, than the very privation of what he deſires. He will begin with aſking your cane; then your watch; then he will want to have the bird he ſees flying, or the ſtar twinkling in the firmament: in ſhort, he will aſk every thing his eye can reach. Unleſs you were a deity, it is impoſſible for you to ſatisfy his deſires?

It is a diſpoſition natural to man, to conſider every thing as his own, which is in his power. In this ſenſe, Hobbes's principle is true to a certain degree: multiply with our deſires, the means of ſatisfying them, and each man becomes maſter of all. Therefore the child, who has only to aſk and have, looks upon himſelf as lord of the univerſe; he conſiders all men as his ſlaves: and when at length you are under the neceſſity of a refuſal, as he looked upon every thing poſſible, that he pleaſed to command, he eſteems this refuſal as an act of rebellion; all the reaſons that are given him, at an age incapable of reaſoning, appear to him only as ſubterfuges and pretexts; he takes it for ill nature and the want of a diſpoſition to oblige; at the ſame time, the miſtaken notion of injuſtice exaſperating his temper, he looks upon all the world with an eye of hatred, and without ever being obliged to your complaiſance, he is fired at the leaſt oppoſition.

Is it poſſible to conceive, that a child thus ſwayed by choler, and a prey to the moſt impetuous paſſions, can ever be happy? He happy! he is a tyrant; he is at once the meaneſt of ſlaves, and the moſt wretched of all creatures. I have ſeen inſtances of children, brought up in this manner, who wanted the houſe to be overſet with a thruſt of the ſhoulder; who were impatient to get poſſeſſion of the weather-cock they beheld on a ſteeple; to have a regiment ſtopped in full march, in order to liſten the longer to the beat of the drum; and who pierced the air with their cries, if they were not immediately obeyed. In vain did every

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every body haſten to pleaſe them; their deſires being inflamed from the facility of indulging them, they inſiſted upon impoſſibilities, and conſequently met with nothing but contradiction and uneaſineſs. Ever grumbling, ever mutinous, they paſſed their days in whining and crying: and could theſe be deemed fortunate beings? The union of weakneſs and dominion engenders nothing but folly and miſery. Of two children that have been ſpoilt, one beats the table, and the other buffets the ſea; but they may beat and buffet about long enough, before they will be content.

If theſe ideas of empire and dominion render them miſerable in their infancy, what muſt we think of them when they grow up in years, and their relations to other members of ſociety begin to enlarge and extend? Accuſtomed to ſee every thing bend to their will, how great their ſurprize, upon coming into life, to perceive that every thing oppoſes them; and to find themſelves cruſhed with the weight of this globe, which they expected to whirl about with their little finger? Their inſolent airs, and their childiſh vanity, only expoſe them to mortification and contempt; they are obliged to pocket affronts; by theſe eſſays they are ſoon convinced of the ignorance they lay under, in regard to their real condition and ſtrength; finding that all things are not in their power, they fancy themſelves capable of nothing; the multitude of unuſual difficulties diſcourage them; ſcorn and deriſion debaſe their ſpirit; they become cowards; they grow fawning and cringing; in ſhort, they deſcend as much beneath, as before they raiſed themſelves above their ſphere.

Let us return to the fundamental rule. Nature has deſigned that children ſhould be cheriſhed and relieved: but was it her intent they ſhould be obeyed and feared? Did ſhe give them an imperious air, a frowning brow, a rude, menacing voice, to make themſelves dreaded? I ſee the reaſon why the roaring

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roaring of a lion ſhould ſtrike terror into other animals, and that they ſhould tremble at the ſight of his dreadful mane; but if ever there was an odious and ridiculous ſight, it muſt be ſurely that of a body of magiſtrates, with their chief at their head, and in their habit of ceremony, proſtrating themſelves before a child in his ſwaddling cloaths, haranguing him in pompous expreſſions, while the little monarch anſwers them only with his cries and ſlaver.

Can any thing in the world be more feeble, more wretched, more at the mercy of thoſe about him, or more in need of compaſſion, care, and protection, than an infant? Would not one imagine, that ſuch ſoft features, and ſo affecting an air, were given him with a view, that whoſoever approached his perſon ſhould pity his imbecillity, and be ready to lend him aſſiſtance? Can there be then any thing more ſhocking, or more repugnant to order and regularity, than to ſee a peeviſh, untoward child, commanding every body about him, and aſſuming the air of a maſter over thoſe, who need only to leave him to himſelf, and he muſt inſtantly periſh?

On the other hand, the weakneſs of children confines them ſo many ways, that it would be altogether inconſiſtent with humanity to increaſe that ſubjection by tyrannical caprice, and by diveſting them of a liberty ſo greatly limited, which it is ſo little in their power to abuſe, and the privation of which is ſo inſignificant, either to them or to ourſelves. As there is nothing ſo ridiculous as an inſolent child, ſo nothing is more deſerving of our pity, than an affrighted infant. Since with the years of diſcretion civil ſervitude commences, why ſhould we anticipate it by domeſtic ſlavery? Let us permit a few moments of life to be exempt from that yoke, which never was impoſed by nature; and let infants have the exerciſe of their liberty, which preſerves them, at leaſt, for ſome time, from the vices contracted in a ſervile ſtate. Let thoſe ſevere legiſlators, or thoſe fathers, who

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who are over indulgent to their children, let them come, and each of them produce their frivolous objections; but before they boaſt of their methods of education, let them learn for once the inſtitution of nature.

I return now to the practice. Already have I obſerved, that your child ſhould obtain nothing, becauſe he aſks it, but becauſe of his wants (5); and let him do nothing from a motive of obedience, but through neceſſity: thus the words *obey* and *command* will be expunged from his dictionary, and much more thoſe of duty and obligation; but thoſe of force, neceſſity, impotency, and conſtraint, are to be ranked in the firſt order. Before we have attained the uſe of reaſon, we can have no idea of moral beings, or ſocial relations; we ſhould therefore avoid as much as poſſible making any uſe of words that expreſs them, leſt the child ſhould annex to thoſe words falſe ideas, that we know nothing of, and which it will never be in our power to remove. The firſt wrong notion that enters into his head is to him the ſeed of error and vice; and we muſt be particularly on our guard to prevent his taking this early ſtep towards deception. So long as he is affected only by ſenſible objects, let all his ideas be confined to ſenſation; let him perceive nothing round him but the material world; otherwiſe you may be ſure he will pay no attention to what you ſay; or out of your moral world he will form fantaſtic notions, which it will be impoſſible for you to efface all the reſt of his life.

To reaſon with children was the great maxim of Mr. Locke; and is a maxim at preſent much in

(5) It is obvious, that as pain is ſometimes a neceſſity, pleaſure is ſometimes a want. There is therefore only one deſire of children, which we ſhould never comply with, that of being obeyed. Hence it follows, that in every thing they aſk, we are chiefly to attend to the motive that directs them. Grant them as much as poſſible every thing that can do them a real pleaſure: on the contrary, refuſe them every thing they aſk merely through fancy or caprice, or from a deſire of exerting their authority.

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vogue: its ſucceſs, however, does not ſeem to give it weight; and, for my part, I can ſee nothing more abſurd than this reaſoning ſo much with children. Reaſon is, properly ſpeaking, a compound of all the human faculties, and of courſe is the laſt and the moſt difficult to unfold itſelf; yet you pretend to make uſe of it in unfolding the reſt! Education's maſterpiece is to make a reaſonable man; and you would fain educate a man by reaſon! This is beginning by the end, and making an inſtrument of the work. If children were capable of reaſon, they would have no occaſion for education; but talking to them at that tender age, in a language they do not underſtand, you accuſtom them to be ſatisfied with words; to contradict every thing they hear; to think themſelves as knowing as their maſters; to wrangle and diſpute; and when you imagine to have prevailed on them by rational motives, they have been actuated by the paſſions of avarice, fear, or vanity, with which you have been obliged to enforce your arguments.

The lectures of morality uſually made to children may be reduced to the preſent form.

Maſter. You muſt not do that.
Child. And why ſo?
Maſter. Becauſe it is wrong.
Child. Wrong! what do you mean by wrong?
Maſter. That which you are forbid to do.
Child. What harm is there in doing what I am forbid?
Maſter. You will be chaſtiſed for diſobeying.
Child. I ſhall take care it ſhall not be known.
Maſter. You will be carefully watched.
Child. I intend to conceal myſelf.
Maſter. You will be examined.
Child. I will tell a lie.
Maſter. You muſt not tell a lie.
Child. Why muſt not I tell a lie?
Maſter. Becauſe it is wrong, &c.

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Here is a circle unavoidable. Get out of it, if you can; the child knows not what to make of you. Are not theſe very fine inſtructions? I ſhould be glad to hear what you could ſubſtitute in the room of this dialogue. Mr. Locke himſelf would, I make no doubt, be greatly puzzled. To diſtinguiſh moral good and evil, to know the reaſon of ſocial duties, is much above a child's capacity.

Nature requires we ſhould be children, before we arrive to the ſtate of manhood. Should we attempt to invert this order, our fruit would be too forward; it would have neither flavour nor taſte, and would quickly ſpoil; we ſhould have young doctors, and old children. Infants have their own peculiar ways of ſeeing, thinking, and acting; nothing can be more abſurd than to ſubſtitute ours in the room of theirs; I ſhould be as well pleaſed to ſee a child five feet high, as to have maturity of judgment at the age of ten. And of what uſe would this reaſon be at that age? It is a reſtraint to force, and a child has no need of that reſtraint.

Endeavouring to convince your pupils of the duty of obedience, you make uſe of violence and threats, or, what is ſtill worſe, of flattery and promiſes, to ſtrengthen this imaginary conviction. Thus allured by intereſt, or conſtrained by force, they pretend to ſubmit to reaſon. They ſee as quick as you, that obedience redounds to their advantage, rebellion to their detriment. But as you require nothing but what they diſlike, and it is always painful to conform through conſtraint to the will of another; they hide themſelves, in order to follow their own; fully convinced, that they do right, if their diſobedience be never known; but ready to acknowledge their error, if they happen to be diſcovered, and this for fear of a greater evil. The argument of duty not being adapted to their age, there is not a man living capable of making them ſenſible of it; but the fear of puniſhment, the expectation of forgiveneſs, importunity,

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tunity, and confuſion, extort from them ſuch confeſſions as are required; and you believe them to be convinced, when they have only been teized or frightened.

What is the conſequence of all this? In the firſt place, by impoſing a duty on them, of which they are not inwardly perſuaded, they look upon you from that moment as a tyrant, and ceaſe to love you; they learn alſo from thence to diſſemble, and to tell lies and falſities, in order to extort a reward, or to avert chaſtiſement; in fine, by accuſtoming them to diſguiſe their real motive, you enable them alſo to impoſe on you continually, to conceal the true ſituation of their mind, and to pay you, and every body elſe, upon all occaſions, with empty words. The laws, you will ſay, though obligatory in conſcience, make uſe of the like conſtraint in regard to perſons arrived at man's eſtate. I grant you: but what ſort of men are theſe? Are they not children ſpoiled by education? This is the very thing againſt which we are to guard. Make uſe of force with children, and of reaſon with men; ſuch is the order of nature; the wiſe man has no need of laws.

Let your treatment toward your pupil be adapted to his age. Begin with putting him into his right place, and hold him there ſo faſt, that he ſhall not attempt to ſtir. Then before he is acquainted with the nature of wiſdom, he will practiſe one of its principal leſſons. Never command him to do any thing, be it what it will. Never ſuffer him to imagine, that you pretend to any authority over him. Only let him know, that he is feeble, and you are ſtrong, and that in conſequence of theſe two circumſtances, he muſt needs be at your mercy; let him know it; let him learn it; let him feel it early in life; let his ſtiff neck ſubmit to the yoke impoſed by nature on man, that heavy yoke of neceſſity, to which all finite beings muſt yield: let him diſcern this neceſſity in the

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nature of things, but never in the caprice (6) of man: let the curb that reſtrains him be force, and not authority. Whatever he ought to abſtain from, let him not be forbid to do it, but abſolutely hindered, without making uſe of explanation or arguments: whatever you think proper to grant him, let it be granted at the firſt word, without intreaty or prayer, and, above all, without making any condition. Grant with pleaſure, refuſe with reluctance: but let your refuſals be irrevocable; let not importunity ſhake your reſolution; let the particle *no*, when once pronounced, be a wall of braſs, which a child, after he has tried his ſtrength againſt it half a dozen times, ſhall never more endeavour to ſhake.

Thus will you render him patient, quiet, and reſigned, even when he cannot obtain what he wanted; for it is in the nature of man patiently to ſubmit to the neceſſity of things, but not to another's will. *There is no more*, is an anſwer againſt which no child ever mutinied, unleſs he thought you were telling him a lie. Here is no medium; you muſt either require him to do nothing at all, or make him immediately obey your order. The worſt education is to let him waver between his own will and yours, and inceſſantly to diſpute which of you two is to be maſter: I had rather an hundred times he had always been poſſeſſed of that authority.

Is it not very extraordinary, that the perſons concerned in the education of children ſhould never have bethought themſelves of any other inſtrument to conduct them, than jealouſy, envy, vanity, greedineſs, puſillanimity, paſſions all of a moſt dangerous tendency, the quickeſt to ferment, and the moſt proper for corrupting the ſoul, even before the body is

(6) You may be ſure that a child will look upon every will contrary to his own, and of which he does not underſtand the reaſon, that he will look upon it, I ſay, as caprice. Now, a child finds nothing reaſonable, that contradicts his fancy.

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formed? At every crude lecture you want to drive into their heads, you plant a vice in the midſt of their hearts. Some fooliſh preceptors think it a mighty matter, to render them vicious, to the end that they may learn the nature of virtue; and then they tell us, with a grave countenance, his conſtitution is ſuch: yes, truly, as it was ſpoiled by you.

All inſtruments have been tried but one, the only one capable of ſucceſs, viz. liberty under a proper regulation. You muſt not pretend to educate a child, when you know not how to lead him where you pleaſe, merely by the laws of poſſibility and impoſſibility. The ſphere of both being equally unknown to him, you may extend or contract it in the manner you have a mind. He is held in, or put forward, by the bridle of neceſſity, and without the leaſt grumbling: he is rendered docile and pliant by the mere force of things, and there is no occaſion for vice to take root in his breaſt; for the paſſions are never raiſed when they can be productive of no effect.

Give no verbal inſtructions to your pupil; he ought to receive none but from experience; inflict no puniſhments on him, for he knows not what it is to be in fault; never make him aſk pardon, he cannot offend you. His actions being devoid of morality, he can do nothing morally evil, worthy of chaſtiſement or reproach.

The reader will be ſurprized at this doctrine, judging of our pupil by the common run of children; but he is miſtaken. The perpetual confinement in which you keep your boys, irritates their vivacity; the more conſtraint they bear under your eye, the more turbulent they become, when withdrawn from your inſpection; they muſt indemnify themſelves as well as they can, for the ſubjection in which you hold them. Two ſchool-boys from town will do more miſchief in a place, than all the boys of the village. Suppoſe you were to leave one of theſe young gentlemen in the ſame room with a country youth; the

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former ſhall have made a great havock, before the latter ſtirs from his place. And whence this difference? But becauſe the one having but ſeldom his liberty, wants to make the moſt of the preſent moment; whereas the other being always ſure of his freedom, is not ſo apt to break out into extravagance. And yet the children of villagers are often flattered or contradicted; ſo that their education is very different from what I would have it.

Let us eſtabliſh it as an inconteſtable maxim, that the firſt movements of nature are always right: there is no original perverſity in the human breaſt. There is not a ſingle vice, but you can tell in what manner, and which way it entered. The only paſſion natural to man, is that of the individual, or ſelf-love, taken in an extenſive ſenſe. This paſſion, whether conſidered in itſelf, or relatively to us, is good and uſeful; and as it has no neceſſary relation to another perſon, in this reſpect it is naturally indifferent: it becomes good or bad, only by the application we make of it, and the relations it receives. Therefore, till reaſon, the guide of ſelf-love, begins to dawn, it behoves a child to do nothing, becauſe he is ſeen or heard; nothing, in ſhort, with reference to others; but only what nature requires of him, and then he will do every thing right.

I do not mean by this, that he will do no miſchief; that he will not hurt himſelf; that he will not perhaps break a coſtly piece of furniture. He may do ſome harm, without acting morally ill, becauſe a bad action depends on the intention of hurting, an intention which never entered into his thoughts. Were he once to be actuated by any ſuch motive, all our pains would be loſt; he would be vicious almoſt beyond the poſſibility of reclaiming.

A thing may be bad in the eye of an avaricious perſon, that is not ſuch according to the light of reaſon. When children are indulged to play at full liberty, care ſhould be taken to put every thing out of their

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way, which may render their ſport too expenſive; in ſhort, to leave nothing valuable and brittle within their reach. Let the furniture of their apartment be plain and ſolid: no looking-glaſſes, no China-ware, no ſumptuous or luxurious finery. As for my Emilius, whom I bring up in the country, his room ſhall have nothing to diſtinguiſh it from a cottage. To what purpoſe would you deck it out ſo fine, if he is to make ſo ſhort a ſtay? But I am miſtaken: he will deck it himſelf, and you ſhall preſently ſee with what kind of embelliſhments.

If, notwithſtanding all your precautions, the child happen to commit any diſorder, or to break ſome uſeful piece of furniture, do not puniſh him for your neglect; do not rebuke him; let not a ſingle word of reproach come from your mouth; let him not even perceive he has given you uneaſineſs; behave towards him, as if the moveable broke of itſelf; in ſhort, imagine you have done a great deal, if you can hold your tongue.

Shall I venture now to lay down a rule of education, of all others the moſt important and moſt uſeful? It is, not to gain time, but to loſe it. Reader, excuſe my paradoxes; when we come to reflect, there is no avoiding it; and ſay what you will, I had much rather be addicted to paradoxes, than ſwayed by prejudices. The moſt critical time of life, is the ſpace from one's birth to twelve years of age. This is the time in which vice and error ſhoot up, while there is no inſtrument to deſtroy them; and when the inſtrument comes, they are ſo deeply rooted, it is impoſſible to extirpate them. Were children to paſs inſtantaneouſly from the breaſt to the uſe of reaſon, the preſent manner of education might ſuit them very well; but, according to the progreſs of nature, they ought to be conducted a very different way. Their mind ought not to be employed at all, till it has attained all its faculties; for it is impoſſible that it ſhould perceive the lights you ſet before it, ſo long

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as it is blind; and that, in the immenſe ſpace of ideas, it ſhould follow a path, which even the moſt perſpicacious, with the aſſiſtance of reaſon, find difficult to trace. Initial education ought therefore to be purely negative. It conſiſts, not in inculcating the principles of virtue or truth, but in guarding the heart againſt vice, and the mind againſt error. If you could ſit idle, and ſuffer your pupil to learn nothing; if you could conduct him ſafe and ſound to the age of twelve, without knowing to diſtinguiſh his right hand from his left; upon hearing your firſt lecture, the eye of his underſtanding would be open to reaſon; void of all prejudice and habits, he would have nothing in him that could fruſtrate your endeavours. Soon would he, under your tuition, become one of the ſageſt of men; and by ſetting out with doing nothing, you would make a prodigious improvement in the article of education.

If you act quite contrary to common cuſtom, you will be generally ſure to do well. Fathers and mothers, not willing their ſon ſhould be a child, but a doctor, think they never can begin ſoon enough to correct, to reprimand, to flatter, to promiſe, to inſtruct, to reaſon. Your beſt way is to be rational, and not to reaſon with your pupil, eſpecially with a view to make him outwardly approve what inwardly diſpleaſes him; for thus to recommend diſagreeable objects by the force and power of reaſon, is giving him a diſtaſte and prejudice againſt it, before his underſtanding is ripened. Exerciſe his bodily ſtrength and ſenſible organs, but keep his mind inactive as long as you can. Guard againſt all ſenſations anterior to judgment, which rates their value. Reſtrain all outward impreſſions; and do not be ſollicitous to do good, merely to prevent evil; for nothing can be good till enlightened by reaſon. You are to conſider all delays as advantages; it is a great point gained, to advance towards the critical time, without ſuſtaining any loſs; let infancy ripen. In a word, ſhould

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there be an abſolute neceſſity for giving children a particular leſſon, avoid giving it them to-day, if you can delay it till to-morrow.

The utility of this method is confirmed by another conſideration, namely, that of the genius of the child, which we ought to be well acquainted with, in order to know what moral regimen ſuits him beſt. Every mind has its particular form, according to which it has need of being governed; and the ſucceſs of the perſon employed in its inſtruction, depends on its being governed in this, and not in any other manner. I would adviſe you, as a matter of prudence, to ſtudy nature a long time, and carefully to obſerve the diſpoſition and capacity of your pupil, before you attempt to give him the firſt lecture; ſuffer his natural genius to ſhoot up unreſtrained, and to ſhew itſelf in full liberty; do not lay any conſtraint whatever upon it, in order that you may behold it whole and entire. Do you imagine that this time of liberty is loſt in regard to him? Quite the contrary; he will be moſt uſefully employed; for by this method he will learn not to loſe a ſingle minute at a more precious time of life: whereas, if you go to work before you know what is proper to be done, you run a great riſk of being deceived, and will find yourſelf obliged to return the ſame way; in ſhort, you will be further from your mark, than if you had not been ſo impatient to hit it. Do not therefore follow the example of the miſer, who, prompted by the deſire of loſing no advantage, ſuffers a conſiderable loſs. Let your pupil ſacrifice a few years in the beginning of life, and you will recover them with intereſt when he is advanced to maturity. The ſkilful phyſician does not preſcribe at firſt ſight, but carefully examines into the conſtitution of the patient before he preſcribes; he proceeds ſlowly, but makes a cure; whereas the inconſiderate practitioner hurries his patient into the other world.

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But where ſhall we place this infant, to rear him like an inſenſible being, or like an automaton? Shall we confine him to ſome planet, or in a deſart iſland? Shall he be eſtranged from all human beings? If he is to abide on earth, will not he have continually before his eyes the example of human paſſions? Will not he behold other children of his own age? Will not he ſee his relations, his neighbours, his nurſe, his governante, his lackey, and even his governor, who, after all, is not ſuppoſed to be an angel?

This objection is of very great weight. But did I ever tell you, that a natural education was an eaſy undertaking? Is it my fault, mortals, if you have clogged every thing that is good with difficulties? I am ſenſible of theſe difficulties; and perhaps they are unſurmountable. But ſtill it is beyond all doubt, that, by endeavouring abſolutely to prevent them, you prevent them to a certain degree. I only point out the mark you are to aim at: I do not pretend to affirm you can reach it; but this I ſay, that they who come neareſt to it, bid the faireſt for ſucceſs.

Remember, that before you undertake to form a man, you ſhould be a man yourſelf; you ſhould be the very pattern he ought to follow. While the child is yet devoid of knowledge, there is time to prepare every thing about him, ſo as not to ſuffer him to be approached by improper objects. Let your behaviour be ſuch, as to make all the world reſpect you; begin with rendering yourſelf amiable, to the end that every body may ſtudy to oblige you. It will be impoſſible for you to acquire an authority over the child, unleſs you have firſt attained it over thoſe who attend his perſon; and this will never be ſufficient, unleſs it is founded on real eſteem. Little would it avail to open your purſe, and ſcatter about money by handfuls. I never knew that money made a perſon beloved. You muſt not be covetous or ſtingy, nor bewail the miſery which it is in your power to relieve. In vain would you open your

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coffers, if you do not alſo diſcloſe your heart; others will ſhut theirs againſt you. You muſt give your time, your care, your affection, in ſhort, your perſon; for do what you will, it is obvious that your money and you are different things. There are marks of friendſhip and benevolence, that have a greater effect, and are attended with more real utility, than all the preſents in the world. How many unfortunate people, how many labouring under heavy infirmities, have more need of conſolation than of alms? How many groaning under oppreſſion, have more occaſion for protection than for money? Reconcile people at variance, make up law-ſuits, exhort children to their duty, parents to indulgence, encourage happy marriages, prevent vexation and oppreſſion, exert the influence of your pupil's relations in behalf of the poor and defenceleſs, to whom juſtice is refuſed, and who are overpowered by the mighty and great. Declare yourſelf openly the protector of the unfortunate. Be juſt, humane, and benevolent. Not only give alms, but be charitable; the works of mercy afford more relief to the diſtreſſed than money; love your fellow-creatures, and they will love you; ſerve them, and they will ſerve you; be a brother to them, and they will be your children.

This is another reaſon for my deſiring to bring up Emilius in the country, far from the rabble of valets, and, next to their maſters, the ſcum of the earth; far from the corrupt morals of towns, which are covered with ſuch a varniſh as to render them infectious to children; whereas the vices of the country people, being undiſguiſed by art or preparation, rather occaſion a diſguſt, eſpecially when we do not find it our intereſt to follow them.

Reſiding in a village, a governor will have a greater power over the objects he is deſirous to repreſent to his pupil; his reputation, his ſpeech, his example, will give him ſuch weight and authority, as he never could

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could have acquired in town: his endeavours being directed to the public good, every body will contend to ſerve and oblige him, to gain his eſteem, and to behave in ſuch a manner towards the pupil, as muſt be agreeable to the maſter: if they do not reform their vices, they will abſtain from ſcandal; and this is all that is wanted for our preſent purpoſe.

Ceaſe to condemn others for faults of your own committing; the vice which children behold in others, does not corrupt their morals, ſo much as that which they have learnt of you. Ever preaching, ever moralizing, and tiring them with pedantic diſcourſes, for one right idea they receive by your information, you give them twenty that are good for nothing: full of what paſſes in your own head, you do not perceive the effect of what is fermenting in theirs. In this great variety of words, with which you inceſſantly fatigue them, do you imagine they never take any in a wrong ſenſe? Do you think they do not interpret your tedious explications after their own way, and contrive means of forming a ſyſtem adapted to their own capacity, which they will be ſure to oppoſe to yours on a proper time and occaſion.

Do but liſten to one of theſe little gentlemen, that have been made ſo wiſe and learned; let him queſtion, puzzle, and wander as he pleaſes; you will be ſurprized at the ſtrange effect your argumentations have produced in his mind; he confounds, he overturns every thing, he tires you, and puts you out of patience, with his extravagant objections. He reduces you to the dilemma, either of being ſilent, or of obliging him to hold his tongue: and what muſt he think of this ſilence in a man, who is ſo fond of talking? If ever he obtains this advantage, and is ſenſible of it, there is an end of his education; all is over with him from that inſtant; he no longer deſires to be inſtructed, but only ſtudies how to refute your arguments.

Maſters,

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Maſters, if your love your pupils, be plain, diſcreet, and reſerved; never be in a hurry to act, except to hinder others from acting. I ſhall not ceaſe to repeat it more than once, defer, if poſſible, a good inſtruction, for fear of giving a bad one. On this earth, which nature formed into a paradiſe for man, avoid acting the part of the tempter, by furniſhing innocence with the knowledge of good and evil: as it is impoſſible for you to prevent the child from being ſtruck by external examples, confine your care to the imprinting of them in his mind under proper images.

Paſſions of the impetuous kind have a very great effect upon a child that beholds them, becauſe they are marked with ſtrong indications, which affect the ſenſes, and oblige him to give his attention. Choler eſpecially is ſo boiſterous in its tranſports, that it is impoſſible not to diſcern it at a proper diſtance. You muſt not aſk me, whether this be a right opportunity for a pedagogue to make a fine diſcourſe. Not at all; no fine diſcourſes; not a ſingle word. Let the child come to you; the ſight will frighten him to ſuch a degree, that he muſt certainly aſk you ſome queſtions. The anſwer is plain and ſimple; drawn from the very objects which ſtrike his ſenſes. He beholds a countenance inflamed, eyes ſparkling with fire, a menacing geſture, and withal he hears a loud elevation of the voice; all which are ſigns that the body is not in its natural temper. Tell him ſedately, without affectation or myſtery, this poor man is ſick, he is taken ill of a fever. From thence you may take an opportunity of giving him an idea, in very few words, of maladies, and their different effects: for this is a condition of human nature, and one of thoſe laws of neceſſity, to which he muſt feel himſelf ſubject.

Is it poſſible, but from this idea, which indeed is the true one, he muſt contract an early averſion to all exceſs of paſſion, which he will look upon as a malady

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malady and diſorder; and will not the inſtilling of ſuch a notion into his head betimes, be productive of as good an effect, as the moſt tireſome ſermon? But obſerve the conſequences of this notion: thereby you are authorized, in caſe of neceſſity, to treat an untoward child as a ſick perſon; to confine him to his room, and to his bed, if neceſſary; to oblige him to undergo a regimen; to imprint in his mind a horror of his growing vices; and all this while, he cannot look upon the ſeverity, with which you have perhaps been obliged to behave towards him, as a chaſtiſement. And if, at any time, in ſome ſally of paſſion, you ſhould deviate a little from that coolneſs and moderation, which ought ever to be your ſtudy, do not endeavour to diſguiſe your fault from him; but tell him frankly, with a kind of tender reproach, My friend, you have hurt me.

It is of the utmoſt importance, however, that the little innocent miſtakes, which a child, from the ſimplicity of his education, may happen to commit, be never rectified in his preſence, nor mentioned in ſuch a manner as to give him a different idea. An indiſcreet laugh may ſpoil all you have been doing for the ſpace of ſix months, and be the cauſe of irreparable miſchief during his whole life. I cannot too often repeat it, that to be maſter over a child, you ſhould be your own maſter. I will ſuppoſe my little Emilius, upon being preſent at a quarrel between two women in the neighbourhood, to advance towards the moſt enraged of the two, and to ſay to her, with an air of compaſſion, *My good miſtreſs, you are very much out of order; I am ſorry for it.* No doubt, but this innocent expreſſion muſt have ſome effect upon the ſtanders by, and perhaps upon the women themſelves. Without ſaying a word to him, without laughing or chiding, I carry him away, either by good will or force, before he can perceive this effect, or, at leaſt, before he thinks of it; and I do all I can to divert his thoughts to ſome other object.

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My deſign is not to enter into every particular, but only to lay down ſome general maxims, and to confirm them by examples, where any difficulties may ariſe. I look upon it as impoſſible, in the midſt of ſociety, to bring up a child to the age of twelve, without giving him ſome idea of the relations of one individual to another, and of the morality of human actions. It is ſufficient, if you endeavour he ſhall have occaſion for theſe notions as late as poſſible, and when the neceſſity becomes unavoidable, let them be confined to preſent utility, merely that he may not conſider himſelf as maſter of all the world, and that he may do no injury to any perſon without remorſe, and unknown to himſelf. There are ſome tempers ſo eaſy and calm, that, in the days of their early innocence, you may lead them a great way without danger; but there are likewiſe others of violent tempers, who ſhew their fierceneſs early in life, and whom you muſt train up to humanity with all the expedition poſſible, leſt you be obliged to confine them.

Our firſt duties are towards ourſelves; our firſt ſentiments center in our own perſons; and all our natural movements refer to our preſervation and well-being. Hence the firſt notion of juſtice is not that we owe to others, but which others owe to us; and this is one of the inconſiſtencies of the common manner of education, that you begin with talking to children of their duties, but never of their rights, which indeed is beginning quite the wrong way, and is what they cannot underſtand, as it does not intereſt them in the leaſt.

Had I therefore the tutoring of one of thoſe young gentlemen, I ſhould ſay to myſelf: a child never ſets upon perſons (7), but things; for experience

(7) We ſhould never ſuffer a child to play with adult people, as his inferiors, nor even as his equals. If he were ſeriouſly to ſtrike any perſon, were it his lackey, or even a common hangman, let his blows be repaid to him with intereſt, ſo as to diſcou-

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rience ſoon teaches him to reſpect thoſe who ſurpaſs him in years and ſtrength; but things do not defend themſelves. The firſt idea you ought therefore to give him, is not that of liberty, but of property; and to render him ſuſceptible of this idea, he ought to have ſomething of his own. To mention his clothes, his furniture, his play-things, is ſaying nothing; becauſe, though he diſpoſes of theſe things, he knows not how nor why he came by them. To tell him that he is poſſeſſed of them, becauſe they were given to him, ſcarcely mends the matter, as the giver muſt have been poſſeſſed of them before he beſtowed them; which ſuppoſeth a property prior to his; and the point in view is to explain the principle of property; not to mention, that a gift is a convention, and a child is as yet incapable of knowing the nature of a convention (8). The reader will pleaſe on this, and many other occaſions, to reflect how children are ſuppoſed to be well inſtructed, when their heads have been filled with a multitude of words, the meaning of which far exceeds their capacity.

The point therefore is to aſcend to the origin of property; for there the firſt idea ought to take its riſe. The child, living in the country, muſt have ſeen ſomething of huſbandry, and of gardening; he need only to open his eyes, and a ſight of this kind cannot eſcape him. It is natural to every ſtage of life, eſpecially to his, to create, to imitate, to pro-

courage him from ever renewing thoſe acts of inſolence. I have ſeen inſtances of imprudent governantes, who would encourage a child in its mutiny and rebellion, would ſuffer, nay, would excite him to ſtrike themſelves, and laugh at his impotent efforts, without reflecting that theſe were ſo many murders intentionally committed by the little madman, and that he who would ſtrike others while he was young, would kill and deſtroy when grown up to maturity.

(8) Hence it is, that moſt children want to get back what they have given, and cry when it is refuſed them. This does not happen to them, when they underſtand the nature of a preſent; but then they are more cautious how they make it.

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duce, and to give marks of activity and power. After he has once or twice ſeen a gardener dig and plant, and raiſe his vegetables, he will be for turning gardener alſo.

Purſuant to the principles above eſtabliſhed, I do not oppoſe his deſign; on the contrary, I give him encouragement; I partake of his labour; I work with him; not to pleaſe him, but myſelf; at leaſt, he thinks ſo: I become his ſervant, and dig the garden for him, till he himſelf is able to dig it; he takes poſſeſſion of it by planting a bean, a poſſeſſion certainly more ſacred and reſpectable, than that which Nunnes Balboa took of South America, in the name of the king of Spain, by fixing his ſtandard on the coaſt of the South Sea.

He comes every day to water the beans, and with tranſports of joy he ſees them grow up. His joy is increaſed by my telling him, This belongs to you: explaining to him, at the ſame, the word *belong*, I make him ſenſible, that he has given his time, his labour, his trouble, and even his perſon to it; that there is ſome part of himſelf in that ſpot of ground, which he can demand of any man living, as he has a right to withdraw his arm from one who wanted to detain him forcibly and againſt his will.

On a very fine day, he haſtens to the garden with his watering-pot; but, O moſt fatal diſaſter! the beans are all plucked up by the root; the ground is turned topſy-turvy; he cannot even diſtinguiſh the ſpot. Alas! what is become of all my labour and toil? Who has robbed me of the fruit of my long care and attendance? Who has ſtripped me of my property? Who has run away with my beans? My young maſter is ſorely afflicted; his firſt ſenſation of injuſtice raiſes a bitter reſentment in his breaſt. The tears flow down his cheeks, and, in the anguiſh of his ſoul, he pierces the air with his ſobs and lamentations. We ſympathize with him in his diſtreſs; we ſhare in his indignation;

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nation; we enquire diligently after the perſon, who perpetrated this injury. At length we find, that the gardener committed the horrid deed; and we order him to appear.

But here we are far from finding our account. The gardener hearing of our accuſation, begins to complain more heavily than we.

" So, gentlemen; and was it you that ruined my " plantation? I had ſown in that ground ſome Mal- " teſe melons, which were given to me as a treaſure, " and with which I intended to regale you as ſoon as " they were ripe: but behold, for the ſake of plant- " ing your wretched beans, you deſtroyed my melons, " that were almoſt ripe, and the like of which I ſhall " never more be able to procure. You did me an ir- " reparable injury, and you deprived yourſelves of " the pleaſure of eating exquiſite melons.

" *Rouſſeau.* Excuſe us, honeſt Robert. You " had employed your time and your labour about " that ſpot of ground; I perceive, that we did very " wrong in ſpoiling your plantation; but we ſhall " ſend for ſome more ſeeds of Malteſe melons; and " we will dig up the ground no more, till we are in- " formed whether it has been cultivated by any body " before us.

" *Robert.* Well, gentlemen; then you may ſet " your hearts at reſt; for no ground here lies fallow. " For my part, I cultivate a ſpot, which was planted " by my father; every man does the ſame; and all " the land you ſee has been long occupied.

" *Emilius.* Mr. Robert, and do you often loſe " your melon ſeed?

" *Robert.* Pardon me, my young maſter: we " are not often viſited by young gentlemen, ſo " heedleſs and giddy as you. No body meddles with " his neighbour's garden; every man reſpects ano- " ther's labour, that his own may be protected.

" *Emilius.* But I have no garden.

" *Robert.*

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" *Robert.* What is that to me? If you ſpoil " mine, I will not ſuffer you any more to walk in it; " for, do you ſee, I will not loſe my labour.

" *Rouſſeau.* Might we not propoſe an expedient " to honeſt Robert? That he ſhould grant to my " little friend, and to myſelf, a ſmall corner of his " garden, for us to cultivate, on condition, that he " ſhould have one half of the produce.

" *Robert.* I grant it to you without the condi- " tion: but remember, I will pluck up your beans, " if you meddle with my melons."

In this eſſay on the manner of communicating original ideas to children, you ſee in what manner that of property is naturally traced to the right of the firſt occupant. This is clear and eaſy, and within the reach of children. From thence to the right of property, and to permutation, there is only a ſingle ſtep. After which you are to ſtop ſhort.

The explication here comprized in two pages is, nevertheleſs, the buſineſs of an entire year, when you come to practiſe; for in the purſuit of moral ideas, you cannot advance too gradually, nor fix yourſelf too firmly at every ſtep. Young tutors, let this example, I pray you, be imprinted on your minds; and remember, that, upon all ſubjects, your lectures ought to conſiſt rather in action than in diſcourſe; for children eaſily forget what they ſay, and what is ſaid to them; but ſeldom what they do, and what they ſuffer.

Inſtructions of this kind ought to be given, as I have obſerved, ſooner or later, according as the tranquil or turbulent diſpoſition of the pupil may render it neceſſary either to accelerate or retard them: their utility is obvious; but that we may omit nothing of conſequence in things of an arduous nature, we ſhall illuſtrate this by an example.

Your unlucky boy breaks every thing he comes near. Do not be vexed; put every thing he is capable of damaging out of his reach. He ſpoils the fur-

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furniture and moveables of his room; do not give him others in a hurry; let him feel the want of them. He breaks the windows of his apartment; let the wind blow upon him day and night, without troubling your head about his catching cold; for it is better he ſhould catch cold, than be a fool. Do not complain of the inconveniencies he makes you feel, but make him feel them firſt. At length you order the windows to be mended, but without ſaying a word. If he breaks them again, change your method; tell him coolly and diſpaſſionately, the windows belong to me; they were put there by my care, and I am determined to preſerve them from being broke: then ſhut him up in ſome dark place without a window. Upon this extraordinary proceeding, he begins to cry, and to ſtorm; but no body hears him. In conſequence of this, he is ſoon tired, and changes his note: he ſighs, he complains; a ſervant comes up to the door, and the young rogue begs hard to be releaſed. Without having recourſe to any other ſubterfuge, the ſervant makes anſwer, *I have windows alſo of my own to preſerve*, and goes away. At length, after the boy has been confined ſeveral hours, long enough to be tired, and to remember it, ſomebody puts him in mind of propoſing an agreement to you, that he ſhould be reſtored to his liberty, but promiſe never more to break any glaſs-windows: he wants nothing better. He begs of you to come, and ſee him; you go; he makes his propoſal, and you immediately accept of it; *Very well thought on*, you will ſay; *we ſhall both be gainers: why did not you think of this expedient ſooner?* And then, without inſiſting either upon proteſtations, or a confirmation of his promiſe, you embrace him with joy and tenderneſs, and immediately reconduct him to his room, looking upon this agreement as ſacred and inviolate, as if it had been confirmed by oath. What notion do you think he will form after this, in regard to the faith and utility of engagements? I am much miſtaken, if there be

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a ſingle child upon earth (except thoſe already ſpoilt) that is capable of violating this agreement, and would ever after think of breaking a window deſignedly (9). Let us follow the connexion. The little urchin did not imagine, that in digging a piece of ground to plant his beans, he was making a priſon for himſelf, to which his knowledge would quickly confine him.

We are now arrived at the moral world; and here are opened the flood-gates of vice. Conventions and duties give birth to deception and lies. As ſoon as you have it in your power to do what you ought not to do, you want to conceal what you ought not to have done. When one intereſt makes you promiſe, a ſtill greater may induce you to violate the promiſe: and then the buſineſs is only to violate it with impunity. The expedient is natural; he hides himſelf, and has recourſe to untruths. As we were not able to prevent vice, we are now in the caſe of puniſhing it: ſuch are the miſeries of human life, which begin with its errors.

I have ſaid enough already to ſhew, that we never ought to inflict a puniſhment on children, merely as puniſhment; but that it ſhould overtake them as a natural conſequence of their bad actions. Hence you are not to declaim againſt lying, you are not to chaſtiſe them merely for having told an untruth; but you

(9) However, if this duty of being true to his engagements were not to be imprinted in the child's mind by the conſideration of its utility, the internal ſenſe beginning to dawn, would impoſe it on him as a law of conſcience; as an innate principle, which to diſplay itſelf, waits only for the particular notices to which it is applied. This firſt ſtroke is not marked by the hand of man, but imprinted in our breaſts by the ſupreme diſpenſer of juſtice. Take away the primitive law of conventions, and the obligation ariſing from thence, all is vain and deluſive in human ſociety: he who is tied down to his promiſe by nothing but profit, is hardly any more bound, than if he had not promiſed at all; or, at furtheſt, it will be in his power to break it, as players at tennis defer making uſe of the biſque, till they find an opportunity of uſing it to advantage. This principle is of the utmoſt importance, and deſerves to be well ſtudied: for here it is that man begins to be inconſiſtent.

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ſhould act ſo, that when once they deviate from the truth, they ſhall ſuffer all the inconveniencies produced by that vice; ſuch as not to be believed, even when they tell the truth; to be accuſed of committing a crime, of which they are innocent, make what defence they will. But let us explain what we mean, by a child's telling a lie.

There are two ſorts of lies, that of fact, which regards the paſt; and that of right, which relates to the future. The former takes place, when we deny our having done a thing which we have done, and when we affirm to have done what we have not done; and in general, when we ſpeak contrary to the known truth. The other is, when we promiſe what we do not intend to perform; and in general, when we aſſert one thing, and mean another. Theſe two lies may ſometimes be joined in one (10); but I conſider them as they are different.

He who feels the want of aſſiſtance, and continually experiences the benevolence of others, has no intereſt to deceive them; on the contrary, he has a ſenſible intereſt in their ſeeing things as they really are, leſt he ſhould be prejudiced by their deception. It is therefore evident, that the *lie of fact* is not natural to children; but it is the law of obedience, that produces the neceſſity of lying, for obedience being a thing in itſelf diſagreeable, they excuſe themſelves from it as much as they can; and the preſent intereſt of avoiding chaſtiſement and reproach, prevails over the diſtant intereſt of declaring the truth. If your child's education be natural and free, what ſhould induce him to tell a lie? What has he to conceal from his governor? You never chide him, you never chaſtiſe him, you never require any thing at his hands; why ſhould not he diſcloſe every thing, he has done, to you, as well as to his little playfellow?

(10) As when being accuſed of a bad action, the criminal exculpates himſelf, by pretending to be an honeſt man. This is a lie in fact, and in right.

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This confeſſion can be productive of no more danger in one caſe, than in the other.

The *lie of right*, is ſtill leſs natural, becauſe promiſes of doing, or abſtaining, are conventional acts, which deviate from the ſtate of nature, and are prejudicial to liberty. Beſides, all engagements of children, are in themſelves void, becauſe having no foreſight, they cannot extend their views beyond the preſent object, and therefore, in engaging for a future performance, they are ignorant of the nature of the contract. A child can ſcarcely lie, when he engages his promiſe; for as he thinks only of getting out of the preſent ſcrape, all means that have not an immediate effect, become equal to him; by promiſing for a future time, he makes no engagement; and his fancy being as yet dormant, cannot extend his exiſtence to different times. Could he eſcape the rod, or obtain a handful of ſugar-plums, by promiſing to throw himſelf to-morrow out of the window, he would promiſe it this inſtant. For this reaſon, the laws have no regard to the engagements of children; and when ſome parents and maſters, more ſevere than others, inſiſt on their fulfilling their promiſe, it is only in things which the child ought to perform, even if he had made no promiſe at all.

An infant therefore, not knowing what he does when he engages, cannot lie in conſequence of that engagement. It is not the ſame when he fails in his promiſe, which is a ſpecies of retroactive lie; for he remembers perfectly well to have made that promiſe; but what he does not know, is the importance of obſerving it. His knowledge not extending beyond the preſent moment, he cannot foreſee the conſequences of things; and when he breaks his contract, he does not act contrary to the diſcretion of his years.

From thence it follows, that the lies of children, are intirely owing to their maſters; and that to learn them to tell the truth, is indeed learning them to be liars. Impatient to tutor and inſtruct them, they never

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never find ways ſufficient to compaſs that end. By inculcating falſe maxims, and unreaſonable precepts, they impoſe on their underſtanding; and they chuſe rather they ſhould know their leſſon and lie, than be ignorant and tell the truth.

For our part, as we give to our pupils none but practical lectures, and we had rather they ſhould be virtuous than learned, we do not require the truth of them, leſt they ſhould diſguiſe it; neither do we oblige them to promiſe any thing, which they may be tempted not to fulfill. If in my abſence, any miſchief is done, and I know not the author, I ſhall take care not to tax Emilius with it, nor ſay to him, *Was it you* (11)? For by ſuch a queſtion, I ſhould only lay him under the temptation of denying it. And if he ſhould be of ſo difficult a temper, as to oblige me to enter into ſome compact with him, I intend to concert my meaſures ſo properly, that the propoſal ſhall always come from himſelf, and not from me; that if ever he enters into an engagement, he ſhall have a preſent, and ſenſible intereſt in fulfilling it; that if ever he breaks it, this untruth ſhall involve him in evils, ariſing from the nature of the thing, and not from the vindictive temper of the governor. But inſtead of having recourſe to ſuch diſagreeable remedies, I am almoſt ſure that it will be very late before Emilius underſtands the nature of a lie, and then he will be ſtruck with ſurprize, not being able to conceive its uſe or advantage. It is extremely clear, that the more I render his welfare independent, either on the will, or judgment of others, the leſs I make it his intereſt to tell a lie.

(11) Nothing can be more indiſcreet than ſuch a queſtion, eſpecially when the child is guilty: for then, if he believes you know what he has been doing, he will perceive, that you are only drawing him into a ſnare; and this will be ſufficient to prejudice him againſt you. If he does not think you know it, he will inwardly ſay, why ſhould I betray myſelf? And this is the firſt temptation to lies, owing to your own imprudence.

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If we were not ſo eager to inſtruct, we ſhould be under no impatience to require any thing of our pupil; but ſhould proceed leiſurely, to the end that we may require nothing improper. The child is then formed, by not being ſpoilt. But when a blockhead of a tutor, quite ignorant of his buſineſs, makes him promiſe one thing or other continually, without diſtinction or choice, the child, quite tired and overburdened with ſuch a number of engagements, firſt neglects, then deſpiſes them; and looking upon them as empty forms, he turns both the making and breaking of them into ridicule. Therefore, if you deſire he ſhould faithfully obſerve his promiſes, be diſcreet in exacting them.

The particulars into which I have entered, in regard to lying, are, in many reſpects, applicable to all other duties, which are preſcribed to children in ſuch a manner, as to render them not only odious, but impracticable. In order to preach up virtue to them, you make them fall in love with vice; by forbidding them to be vicious, you render them ſuch. Deſirous of making them godly and religious, you carry them to church; where they grow tired of mumbling over the ſame prayers, and long for the happineſs of never more being obliged to addreſs themſelves to God. To inſpire their breaſts with ſentiments of charity, you make them diſtribute alms to the poor, as if you thought it beneath you to make that diſtribution yourſelf. It is the maſter, and not the child, that ought to give alms; how great an affection ſoever he may have for his pupil, ſtill he ſhould diſpute this honour with him, and make him think, that at his age he is not worthy of ſo high an office. Alms-giving is the action of a man, who knows the value of what he gives, and the indigence of his fellow-creature. The child who is ignorant of all this, can have no merit in what he does; he ſtretches out his hand to the poor, without a ſenſe of charity or benevolence; he is almoſt aſhamed to give, when judging from his own caſe and

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yours, he is led into a belief, that none but children beſtow charity, and that this office will ceaſe, when he grows up to be a man.

Obſerve farther, that children are generally made to give things, of which they know not the value; as bits of metal which they keep in their pockets, and only for that uſe. A child had rather beſtow a hundred guineas, than a plum cake. But prevail on this profuſe diſtributer of metal, to part with things really dear to him, ſuch as his toys, his play-thing, his afternoon's nunchion, and we ſhall ſee, whether you have made him truly generous and liberal.

An expedient has been found out for this; which is to give back immediately to my little maſter, whatever you have had of him; ſo that he is accuſtomed to beſtow, only what he is ſure of immediately recovering.

Let him find by experience, ſays Mr. Locke, that the moſt liberal has always the moſt plenty. This is making a child liberal in appearance, but avaricious in effect. He adds further, that children ſhould contract the habit of liberality; but it is the liberality of an uſurer, who gives an egg, to get an ox. 'If you are in earneſt with them, there is an end of the habit; if you keep what they give you, their bounty will quickly ceaſe. We ſhould have an eye to the habit of the mind, rather than to that of the hands. Like this, are all the other virtues which children learn of their maſters; and to practiſe theſe, their early days are ſpent in ſorrow. What an excellent education!

I would adviſe all tutors to lay aſide their grimaces, to be virtuous and good; let their examples be imprinted in the memory of their pupils, till they can penetrate their breaſts. Inſtead of requiring my Emilius to do acts of charity, I will do them myſelf in his preſence, and even put it out of his power to imitate me in this particular, his age not qualifying him as yet

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for that honour; since it is of consequence he do not accustom himself to look upon the duties of men as belonging to children. But if upon seeing me relieve the poor, he should question me on that head, and it be time to answer him (12), I shall say to him: "My "friend, when the poor consented there should be "some that were rich, the latter promised to main- "tain all such as were unable to live either by their "fortune, or by labour." "And did you make "such a promise?" he will reply. "To be sure I did; "the estate I possess, was given to me on that condi- "tion, which is inseparably annexed to it."

After he had understood this discourse (and we have shewn how a child may be rendered capable of understanding it) any other but Emilius would be tempted to follow my example, and to conduct himself like a rich man; in that case, I should hinder him however from doing it with ostentation; I had much rather he stripped me of my right, and hid himself to do it. It is a trick of his age, and the only one I should forgive.

I am not ignorant, that all imitative virtues are no better than apings; and that no action is morally good, but when it is done on its own account, and not because others do it. But at a time of life, when the heart is as yet incapable of sensibility, it is extremely proper to accustom children to acts, of which you are desirous they should acquire an habit, till they become capable of performing those acts from principle, and with a good intention. Man is a mimic, and so are brute animals; the love of imitation is agreeable to nature; but degenerates into vice in society. The monkey imitates man, whom he fears, but not other brutes, whom he despises; he

(12) You are to understand, that I do not answer his questions whenever he pleases, but when I please myself; otherwise this would be subjecting myself to his will, and falling into the most dangerous dependance, a tutor can possibly be in, with respect to his p pil.

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looks upon that as good, which is performed by a ſuperior being. On the contrary, in human ſociety, harlequins of all kind mimic what is good and virtuous, only to degrade and ridicule it; conſcious of their own meanneſs, they endeavour to put their betters upon a level with themſelves; or, if they attempt to mimic what they admire, you ſee, in the choice of the objects, the falſe taſte of the imitators; they had rather impoſe on others, and make them commend their abilities, than grow better or wiſer. With us, the ground of imitation, is the deſire of ſoaring beyond our reach. Should I ſucceed in my undertaking, Emilius ſhall have no ſuch deſire. We muſt therefore be ſatisfied without the apparent good, which it is capable of producing.

If you carefully reflect on the common rules of education, you will find them contrary to good ſenſe, eſpecially in what relates to virtue and morality. The only moral leſſon ſuitable to infants, and of greateſt conſequence at their time of life, is never to hurt any body. Even the precept of doing good, if not ſubordinate to that, is dangerous, and abſurd. Where is the man that does no good? Every body does ſome; the knave, as well as the reſt; he makes one happy at the expence of a hundred wretches; and this is the ſource of all our calamities. The ſublimeſt virtues are negative; they are likewiſe the moſt arduous, becauſe they are not attended with oſtentation; and they even ſurpaſs that ſenſation, ſo agreeable to the heart of man, of ſending a perſon away content. What an immenſe deal of good muſt that man do to his equals, if ſuch a man there be, who never does them any harm! What intrepidity, what vigour of mind, muſt he poſſeſs! It is not by reaſoning on this maxim, but by endeavouring to practiſe it, that we ſhall be convinced how arduous it is to ſucceed (13).

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(13) The precept, of never doing an injury, implies that of being connected as little as poſſible with human ſociety; for in this

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Theſe are a few hints of the precautions I would adviſe, in giving ſuch inſtructions to children, as ſometimes cannot be refuſed them, without expoſing them to the danger of hating themſelves and others, and eſpecially of contracting bad habits, which would be afterwards very difficult to reform: but depend upon it, this neceſſity will happen very rarely, in regard to children properly educated; for it is impoſſible they ſhould become froward, vicious, greedy, and addicted to lying, unleſs the ſeeds of thoſe vices have been ſowed in their tender minds. And therefore, what I have been ſaying, in regard to this article, ſerves rather for exceptions than rules; but theſe exceptions are more common, in proportion as children have more frequent opportunities of quitting their ſtate, and contracting the vices of manhood. Thoſe who have had a public education, muſt certainly receive earlier inſtructions, than ſuch as are brought up in retirement. Hence it follows, that private education muſt be preferable to the other, were it only on account of its affording ſufficient time for children to ripen.

There are contrary exceptions for thoſe, whom a happy genius raiſes far above their years. As there are men who never get out of their infancy; ſo there are others, who have never, as it were, dropped into it, but have attained the ſtate of manhood, almoſt at their nativity. The miſchief is, that this laſt exception is very rare, and difficult to diſtinguiſh; each mother imagining, that a child may be a prodigy,

this ſtate, the good of one, neceſſarily conſtitutes the evil of another. This relation is in the nature of the thing, and nothing can alter it: upon this principle, ſee which is the beſt, the ſociable man, or the recluſe. A celebrated author ſays, that none but the vicious live in ſolitude; and for my part, I ſay, that none but the virtuous live in ſolitude: if this propoſition be leſs ſententious, it is truer, and more agreeable to reaſon than the foregoing. If a knave were by himſelf, what harm could he do? It is in ſociety, he contrives his ſnares to hurt mankind. If you retort the argument, in regard to the virtuous man, I anſwer you in the article, to which this note belongs.

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makes no doubt but hers is one. They go further, they take for extraordinary tokens, thoſe which only denote the cuſtomary order; ſuch as ſallies, repartees, careleſs flights, and lively ſimplicity, all indications of age, and proofs that the child is paſt his infancy. Is it at all ſurprizing, that he who is made to ſpeak a great deal, and ſuffered to ſay whatever he pleaſes, who is under no conſtraint of reſpect, or decorum, ſhould happen to ſtumble upon a lucky hit? More ſurpriſing would it be if he did not; juſt as if an aſtrologer, amongſt a thouſand falſities, were not to predict a ſingle fact. They will lie ſo confoundedly, ſaid Henry IV, that at length they will tell the truth. Whoever has a mind to ſay a few witty things, need only to talk a great deal of nonſenſe. God preſerve the people of faſhion, who have no other way to be admired.

The moſt brilliant thoughts may ariſe in the minds of children, or rather the choiceſt words may drop into their mouths, as diamonds of the higheſt value may fall into their hands, and yet, neither the thoughts nor the diamonds belong to them; at that age, there is no real property of any kind. The things a child ſays, are not to him, the ſame as they are to us, he does not join them with the ſame ideas. Theſe ideas, if he has any, have neither chain nor connexion; there is nothing fixed, nothing determinate in what he thinks. Examine your pretended prodigy; at particular times, you find him endowed with an amazing activity, with a clearneſs of conception, ready to pierce through the clouds. But this ſame young gentleman appears to you much oftener to be of a ſoft, heavy diſpoſition, and involved, as it were, in a thick miſt. One time he out-runs you, another time he ſtands ſtock ſtill. Now you would ſay, he is a genius; and the next moment, he is a blockhead. But you are miſtaken, he is ſtill a child. He is a young eagle, that one moment ſoars aloft in the air, and the next, drops into his neſt.

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Treat him, therefore, in proportion to his age, notwithſtanding appearances; and take care you do not exhauſt his ſtrength, by uſing him to too much exerciſe. If this young genius grows warm, if you ſee his blood begins to boil, leave him at full liberty to ferment, but never excite him, leſt the whole ſhould evaporate: when the firſt ſpirits are exhaled, retain and compreſs the reſt, till with maturity of years the entire frame acquire its genuine warmth and force. Otherwiſe you loſe both your time and your labour; you deſtroy your own work, and after you have been ſo indiſcreet, as to intoxicate yourſelf with all thoſe inflammable vapours, you will have nothing left but a thick, fetid maſs.

Stupid children become common men; and no obſervation do I know more general, and more certain than this. Nothing is more difficult, than to diſtinguiſh real dulneſs in children, from that apparent and fallacious ſtupidity, the forerunner of great abilities. It ſeems very ſtrange at firſt, that the two extremes ſhould have ſuch ſimilar marks; and yet ſo it muſt be; for at an age when man has no real ideas, the whole difference between him who has a genius, and him who has not, is, that the latter receives only falſe ideas, whereas the former, finding none but ſuch, rejects them all; he therefore reſembles the blockhead in this, that the one is capable of nothing, and nothing ſuits the other. The only mark that can poſſibly diſtinguiſh them, depends on chance, which may offer ſome idea to the latter, within his reach; whereas the former is every where, and at all times the ſame. The younger Cato, in his infancy, paſſed for an idiot at home; he was ſilent and ſtubborn; and this was all they ſaid of him. His uncle knew nothing of his genius, till he appeared in Sylla's antichamber. Had he not entered that apartment, perhaps he would have paſſed for a fool, till he had attained the years of maturity: had there been no ſuch man as Cæſar, very likely this ſame Cato, who ſaw into

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into his plotting genius, and foretold his projects, would have been treated as a viſionary. Thoſe who form ſuch haſty judgments of children, are ſubject to be miſtaken: indeed they are frequently more childiſh, than the children themſelves. I have been honoured with the friendſhip of a man, who, at a pretty advanced age, paſſed for a very ordinary capacity in his own family, and among his friends; this great genius was ripening inſenſibly. All on a ſudden, he ſhewed himſelf a philoſopher, and I doubt not, but poſterity will aſſign him a very honourable rank among the beſt reaſoners, and profoundeſt metaphyſicians of this age.

Pay a reſpect to children, and be not in a hurry to form a judgment of them, whether favourable or otherwiſe. Let the exceptions ſhew themſelves a conſiderable while, before you adopt any particular method for their uſe. Let nature act her part a long time, before you attempt to ſupply her place, leſt you ſhould counteract her operations? You will ſay, you know the value of time, and are not willing to loſe it! Do not you perceive that it is much worſe to loſe it, by making an ill uſe of it, than by ſitting ſtill; and that a child miſinſtructed, is farther from wiſdom, than he who has had no inſtruction at all? You are concerned to ſee him waſte his early years in indolence! How ſo! Is it indolence to be happy? Is it indolence to hop, and jump, to play, and run about all day? He will never be ſo buſy during the reſt of his life. Plato, in his Republic, which is looked upon as a ſevere work, ſays, that children ought to be uſed to public ſports and games, to the feſtivity of ſong and dance; one would think his whole aim was anſwered, when he had learnt them to rejoice; and Seneca, ſpeaking of the Roman youth, ſays, they were always on their legs; and never learned any thing in a ſitting poſture. Were they the worſe for this, when they arrived at the ſtate of manhood? Do not then be frightened at this pretended indolence. What would

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would you ſay of a man, who, to make the moſt of life, would not chuſe to ſleep? You would ſay, to be ſure, the man is a fool; he does not enjoy, but deprives himſelf of time: to fly from ſleep, he throws himſelf into the arms of death. This is much the ſame thing, for childhood is reaſon's ſleep.

The apparent facility of learning, is the ruin of children; for we do not conſider, that this ſame facility is a proof that they learn nothing. Their brain being as ſmooth as glaſs, reflects all the objects ſet before it; but nothing remains, nothing penetrates. The child retains the words, the ideas are reflected; they who hear him, underſtand the words, but he himſelf underſtands them not.

Though memory and reaſon are two faculties eſſentially different, yet the one does not ripen without the other. Before a child has attained the uſe of reaſon, he receives no ideas, but images; and there is this difference between the two, that the images are only abſolute paintings of the ſenſible objects, but ideas are the notices of objects, determined by their relations. An image may be ſingle in the mind that forms it, but every idea ſuppoſeth others. In imagining, we ſee only; in conceiving, we compare. Our ſenſations are merely paſſive; whereas all our perceptions or ideas ariſe from an active principle that judges. This ſhall be demonſtrated hereafter.

It may therefore be affirmed, that infants being incapable of judgment, have no ſuch thing as real memory. They retain ſounds, figures, ſenſations, but rarely any ideas, and ſtill more rarely their connexions. By affirming that they learn a little of the elements of geometry, you think you have proved a great deal againſt me; but quite the reverſe, you proved for me; it is demonſtrated, that, far from knowing how to reaſon of themſelves, they cannot retain even the reaſonings of others; for trace the method of theſe little geometricians, and you will imme-

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immediately find, that they have retained no more than the exact impreſſion of the figure and the terms of demonſtration. Upon the leaſt new objection, they are at a loſs: invert the figure, they know not what to make of it. Their whole knowledge lies in the ſenſation; nothing has been conveyed to the underſtanding. Even their memory itſelf is hardly more perfect than their other faculties; for when they grow up, they are generally obliged to learn thoſe things anew, of which they had only acquired the names in their infancy.

Far am I, however, from thinking, that children have no kind of reaſon (14). On the contrary, I perceive they reaſon extremely well in every thing they know, relative to their preſent intereſt, as it affects their ſenſes. But it is in regard to their knowledge that we are miſtaken, by ſuppoſing them to have ideas, which they really have not; and by making them reaſon about what they cannot comprehend.

Another miſtake we commit, is that of rendering them attentive to conſiderations, which in no wiſe affect them, as thoſe of future intereſt, of their happineſs when arrived to the ſtate of manhood, of the

(14) Often have I reflected, that it is impoſſible, in a long work, to give always the ſame meaning to the ſame words. There is no language ſo copious, as to be able to furniſh as many terms, and different turns of phraſe, as will anſwer to the various modifications of our ideas. The method of defining every term, and continually ſubſtituting the definition in the place of the thing defined, is very fine, but impracticable: for how ſhall we avoid a circle? Definitions might be good, if we did not uſe words to make them. Notwithſtanding all this, I am convinced, that even in the poverty of the French language, a perſon may be ſufficiently perſpicuous, not by always giving the ſame acceptation to the ſame words, but by taking care, ſo often as he employs each word, that the acceptation he gives it, be ſufficiently determined by the ideas relative thereto, and that every period, in which this word is found, may ſerve it, in ſome meaſure, for a definition. One time I ſay, that children are incapable of reaſoning, and another time I make them reaſon moſt beautifully; yet I do not think, that there is any contradiction in my ideas, though I muſt confeſs there is frequently ſuch oppoſition in my expreſſions.

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eſteem which they will acquire when advanced in years, and ſuch like ſpeeches; which being directed to creatures void of foreſight, have abſolutely no ſignification in regard to them. Now all the forced ſtudies of thoſe poor boys tend to objects, with which their minds are entirely unacquainted. You may judge what attention they are capable of giving.

Pedagogues, who make ſuch a parade of their inſtructions, are paid for holding a different language; yet we find, even by their conduct, that they are exactly of the ſame way of thinking as myſelf; for what is it, after all, that their pupils learn under them? Words, again words, and mere words. Among the different branches of literature, which they boaſt of teaching, they never pitch upon thoſe which would be of real utility to children, becauſe theſe are ſciences of things, and cannot be eaſily learnt at that age; but ſuch as boys ſeem to poſſeſs, when they are acquainted with the terms of art, as heraldry, geography, chronology, languages, &c. ſtudies, all ſo foreign to man, and eſpecially to boys, that it is a miracle if any of them are ever attended with real utility.

You will be ſurprized to ſee me reckon the ſtudy of languages among the uſeleſs branches of education; but pleaſe to remember, that I am ſpeaking here only of the ſtudies in the earlieſt part of life; and ſay what you will, I am of opinion, that no child, prodigies excepted, did ever, till the age of twelve or fifteen, really become maſter of two languages.

I grant you, that if the learning of languages were only that of words, viz. of figures, and of the ſounds which expreſs them, it might be very proper for children; but languages, by changing the ſigns, likewiſe modify the ideas they repreſent. Our heads are formed for languages, and our thoughts take a tincture from idioms. Reaſon alone is common to all; the mind, in every language, has its particular

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form; a difference, which, in ſome meaſure, may be either the cauſe or effect of national characters: and what ſeems to confirm this conjecture, is, that the language of every nation conforms to their manners, and is preſerved or altered, according to the viciſſitudes that ariſe in their morals.

Out of theſe different forms, cuſtom has aſſigned one to children, and it is the only one they retain till the uſe of reaſon. In order to have two, they ſhould know how to compare their ideas; and how ſhould they compare, when they are hardly capable to conceive? Every thing may, in regard to them, have a thouſand different ſigns; but each idea can have no more than one form, and therefore they can learn to talk but one language. You will ſay, they learn many; I deny it. I have ſeen thoſe little prodigies, who imagined they ſpoke five or ſix languages. I have heard them ſucceſſively talk German in Latin, French, and Italian terms; they made uſe indeed of five or ſix dictionaries, but ſtill they ſpoke in the German language. To be brief, give as many ſynonymous terms as you pleaſe to children; you change the words, but not the language; they will never know more than one.

To conceal their incapacity as to this point, is the reaſon why children are exerciſed in dead languages, of which there are no judges, againſt whom you may not except. The familiar uſe of thoſe languages having been long ſince loſt, we are ſatisfied with imitating what we find in books, and this we call ſpeaking Greek or Latin. If ſuch is the language of maſters, you may judge of that of children. No ſooner have they learnt their rudiments, of which they do not abſolutely underſtand one word, than they are taught at firſt to render a French or Engliſh diſcourſe into Latin terms, and when they are more advanced, to tack Cicero's phraſes together in proſe, and to make centos out of Virgil in verſe. Then they fancy

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they talk Latin; and who will undertake to contradict them?

In all branches of learning, the repreſentative ſigns are of no value, unleſs you have the idea of the things repreſented. And yet children are always confined to thoſe ſigns, without ever being able to underſtand any of the things ſignified. You imagine he has learnt the deſcription of the earth, while you only taught him the knowledge of maps: you bring him acquainted with the names of towns, countries, and rivers, which he does not conceive to exiſt any where, but on the chart where they are pointed out to him. I remember to have ſeen a treatiſe of geography, which began thus: *What is the world? It is a globe of paſteboard.* Such is exactly the geography of children. I might ſay with great ſafety, that, after two years ſtudy of the uſe of the globes and geography, there is not one child of the age of ten, that, from the rules he has received, would know how to find his way from Paris to St. Denis: I would venture alſo to affirm, that there is not one, who, from a plan of his father's garden, would be able to trace its different alleys and windings. And yet theſe are the doctors, who can tell you in a moment the ſituation of Pekin, Iſpahan, Mexico, and every country in the world.

You will tell me perhaps, that it is proper to employ children in ſtudies that require only the eye; this might do very well, were there any ſuch; but I know of none.

The error of making them enter into the ſtudy of hiſtory, is ſtill more ridiculous: you imagine, that hiſtory is adapted to their level, becauſe it is only a collection of facts: but what is it you mean by the word *facts?* Do you imagine the relations, by which hiſtorical facts are determined, to be ſo eaſy to apprehend, as to imprint ideas in the minds of children, without any difficulty? Do you believe, that the true knowledge of events is ſeparable from that of their

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their cauſes, or of their effects; and that there is ſo little connexion between the hiſtorical and moral parts, as one may be learnt without the other? If you diſcern nothing further in the actions of men, but motions of the external kind, and purely natural, what is it you learn from hiſtory? Nothing at all: and this ſtudy, being no way intereſting, affords you no more pleaſure than inſtruction. If you intend to eſtimate thoſe actions by their moral relations, endeavour to make your pupil underſtand thoſe relations, and then you will perceive whether hiſtory be adapted to their age.

Remember, reader, that he who is ſpeaking to you now, is neither a ſcholar nor a philoſopher; but a plain man, and a friend of truth; a ſlave to no ſyſtem or party; a recluſe, who converſing but little with the world, has leſs occaſion to imbibe their prejudices, and more leiſure to reflect on what ſtrikes or affects him, whenever he happens to converſe with his friends. My reaſonings are not ſo much founded on principles, as on facts; and, I think, I cannot better enable you to judge of them, than by giving you frequent inſtances of the obſervations by which they are occaſioned.

I went to ſpend a few days in the country with a good motherly lady, who was extremely careful in regard to the education of her children. One morning that I happened to be preſent at the inſtruction of the eldeſt, his governor, who was very well verſed in ancient hiſtory, reſuming that of Alexander, fell upon the well-known paſſage of Philip the phyſician, which has been ſo elegantly painted, and ſo richly deſerved the artiſt's pains. The governor, who was a very worthy man, made divers reflections on the intrepidity of Alexander, which did not at all pleaſe me; yet I avoided oppoſing him, that I might not leſſen his reputation in the eye of his pupil. At table, according to the French cuſtom, they did not fail to make my young maſter prattle a great deal.

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The vivacity natural to his age, and the certain expectation of applauſe, made him ſputter an infinite deal of nonſenſe, among which, he ſometimes dropped a few pretty turns, which made us forget the reſt. At length came the hiſtory of Philip, the phyſician; and he told it with great clearneſs, and good grace. After the uſual tribute of elogiums, demanded by the mother, and expected by the ſon, we began to reaſon on his ſtory. Moſt of thoſe at table blamed Alexander's temerity; ſome, after the governor's example, admired his firmneſs, and his courage; from whence I concluded, that not one of them all underſtood the real beauty of that paſſage. For my part, ſaid I, inſtead of ſeeing any courage, or firmneſs, in that action of Alexander, it is all extravagance. The company then joined againſt me, and ſaid, that what I advanced, was more extravagant. I was going to anſwer them, and to be pretty warm, when a lady who ſat next to me, and had never as yet opened her lips, whiſpered in my ear: Hold thy tongue, Rouſſeau, they will not underſtand a word thou ſayeſt. I looked at her, was ſtruck, and held my peace.

After dinner, ſuſpecting from ſeveral ſigns, that my young doctor did not underſtand a word of the hiſtory, he had ſo prettily related; I took him by the hand, and we walked round the park, when examining him at my leiſure, I found that he admired the boaſted courage of Alexander, more than any of the company: but do you know where he beheld this courage? in his ſwallowing a diſagreeable draught all at once, without heſitating, or ſhewing the leaſt repugnance. The poor child had taken phyſic about a fortnight before, with infinite diſguſt, and the taſte of it was not as yet out of his mouth. Death and poiſoning appeared to him only as diſagreeable ſenſations, and he had no notion of any other poiſon than phyſic. Yet we muſt acknowledge, that the firmneſs of the hero had made a conſiderable impreſſion in the breaſt of

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of our young gentleman, and the firſt time he took phyſic again, he reſolved to behave like Alexander. Without entering into explanations, which evidently ſurpaſſed his capacity, I confirmed him in that laudable diſpoſition; and returned laughing in my ſleeve, at the great wiſdom of parents, who pleaſe themſelves with the notion of inſtructing their children in hiſtory.

It is an eaſy matter, I own, to put ſuch words into their mouths, as kings, empires, wars, conqueſts, revolutions, laws; but when you come to annex clear ideas to thoſe words, you will find that Robert the gardener's dialogue greatly ſurpaſſes theſe explications.

Some of my readers, diſſatisfied with *Hold thy tongue, Rouſſeau*, will aſk me, what great beauty I find in that action of Alexander? Silly mortals! ſhould I tell you, how will you underſtand me? It is, that Alexander believed the exiſtence of virtue; and believed, at the hazard of his life; his great ſoul was formed to believe it. O! how beautiful a profeſſion of faith, was the ſwallowing of that draught! Never mortal made ſo ſublime a one: whoever imagines, there have been modern Alexanders, let him ſhew me ſuch ſtrokes as theſe, to determine their character.

If there be no ſcience in words, they are not a proper ſtudy for children. If they have no real ideas, they have no true memory; for I do not give this appellation to that which only retains ſenſations. Of what uſe is it to have their heads filled with a catalogue of ſigns, which convey no repreſentation to them? By learning the things ſignified, would not they become maſters of the ſigns? Why do you put them to the unneceſſary trouble of learning them twice? And ſurely, it muſt be an error of very bad conſequence, to make them conſider words as a ſcience, which, in regard to them, have no ſort of meaning. By the firſt word a child takes up with,

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or the firſt thing he learns, on the credit of another perſon, without ſeeing into the utility of it himſelf, his judgment is ruined: long will he ſhine in the eye of fools, before he ſhall be able to repair the injury he has received from that abſurd practice (15).

Though nature has formed the brain of children, of ſuch a ſoftneſs, as to be proper for receiving all ſorts of impreſſions, it was not her intent, that it ſhould be filled with the names of kings, with dates, and terms of heraldry, or geography, and with ſuch a multitude of words, which conveying no ſignification to their age, nor utility to any age whatſoever, only embitter their younger days. Her deſign was, that all the ideas they are capable of conceiving, and that are of real advantage to them, ſuch, for inſtance, as relate to their happineſs, and are to direct them hereafter in their duty, ſhould be imprinted in their minds, in indelible characters, and ſerve to conduct them all their lives, in a manner ſuitable to their ſtate, and to their intellectual powers.

Setting aſide the ſtudy of books, the kind of memory, which a child is capable of having, does not remain idle; whatever he beholds, whatever he hears, makes an impreſſion on his mind, and he remembers it; he keeps an internal regiſter of the actions and ſpeeches of mankind; every thing that ſurrounds him,

(15) The learning of moſt men, is like that of children. Great erudition is not ſo much the conſequence of a multitude of ideas, as of images. Dates, proper names, places, all ſingle objects, or thoſe diveſted of ideas, are retained intirely, by the remembrance of the ſigns; and they are ſeldom recollected, without having recourſe to the page, or number, in which they were read the firſt time. Such was the literature which obtained in the laſt ages; that of the preſent century, is quite a different thing. They ſtudy no longer, they make no obſervations, they dream, and with great gravity, they give us the reveries of a few bad nights, inſtead of philoſophy. You will tell me, that I am a dreamer too; I confeſs it; but I do, what you muſt never expect from the others, I give my reveries as ſuch, leaving the reader to judge, whether they can be of ſervice to thoſe who are awake.

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is the book, in which he continually enriches his memory, even unknown to him, till his judgment is capable of converting it to a proper uſe. The true art of cultivating this firſt faculty of the mind, conſiſts in the right choice of thoſe objects, and in the precaution of bringing him acquainted only with ſuch, as are adapted to his capacity, and proper for him to know, while the others remain concealed from his ſight. It is thus we ſhould endeavour to ſtock his mind with ſuch a treaſure of knowledge, as ſhall contribute to his education in his youthful days, and direct his conduct during his whole life. It is true, this method does not produce thoſe little phœnixes in wit; nor does it afford an opportunity for governantes and tutors to ſhine; but it forms men of judgment, ſound of body and underſtanding, who, although they may not be admired in their youth, will be honoured and eſteemed, when they arrive to the ſtate of manhood.

Emilius ſhall commit nothing to memory, no fables, nor ſo much as thoſe of La Fontaine, notwithſtanding all their elegant ſimplicity; for the words of thoſe fables are no more the fables themſelves, than hiſtorical words are hiſtory. How can people be ſo ſtupid, as to call thoſe apologues, a leſſon of morality to children? not reflecting, that while they amuſe their fancy, they impoſe upon their underſtanding; that deceived by the falſity, they ſuffer the truth to eſcape their obſervation; and that what is done, with an intent to render the inſtruction agreeable, defeats its utility. Fables may give inſtruction to men, but you muſt tell the naked truth to boys; when once you throw a vail over it, they never trouble their heads to take it off.

All children whatever, are made to learn La Fontaine's fables; and yet there is not one that underſtands them. And if they did underſtand them, it would be ſtill worſe; for the moral is intermixed in ſuch a manner, and ſo diſproportioned to their age, that it would diſpoſe them rather to vice, than to vir-

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tue. Theſe are paradoxes again, you will ſay; be it ſo, but let us ſee whether they are truths.

I affirm, that a child does not underſtand the fables he is taught; becauſe, endeavour as much as you will to render them plain and intelligible, the inſtruction aimed at, obliges you to introduce a great number of ideas into his head, which are above his capacity; for the poetical turn, at the ſame time that it facilitates the memory, renders the ſubject of more difficult apprehenſion; ſo that amuſement is procured, at the expence of perſpicuity. Without quoting a vaſt multitude, which contain nothing intelligible, or uſeful to children, and which they are made to learn indiſcriminately with the reſt, only becauſe they happen to be intermixed, let us confine ourſelves to thoſe, which the author ſeems to have deſigned particularly for their uſe.

In the whole collection of La Fontaine, I know but of five or ſix fables, that are conſpicuous for puerile ſimplicity; out of thoſe, I take the firſt of all for a ſpecimen, becauſe its moral is adapted to every age, is eaſieſt and pleaſanteſt for children, and, for that very reaſon, was placed by the author at the beginning of the book. Suppoſing his view was really to be underſtood by children, and to pleaſe and inſtruct them, this fable is certainly his maſter-piece; may I therefore be permitted to make a few ſtrictures on it *.

The FABLE of
The RAVEN and the FOX.

Maſter Raven, upon a tree perching,

Maſter! What is the ſignification of this word? What meaning has it, when prefixed to a proper name? And in what ſenſe is it to be taken here?

What is a raven?

* Part of theſe remarks are applicable only to the French language, ſo that the reader will excuſe the lameneſs of their application in Engliſh. *The Tranſlator.*

What

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What means, *upon a tree perching?* It is not uſual to expreſs yourſelf in that manner, but *perching upon a tree.* Conſequently, I muſt ſay ſomething in regard to poetical tranſpoſition, and explain the nature of poetry and verſe.

Held a cheeſe in his beak.

What cheeſe? Was it Swiſs, French, or Dutch cheeſe? If the child never ſaw any ravens, what do you get by ſpeaking to him about them? If he has ſeen that bird, how will he be able to conceive, that he ſhould hold a cheeſe in his beak? Let us draw our images always from nature.

Maſter Fox, allured by the ſmell.

Another maſter! but for this gentleman, he has a good title to it: he is certainly a thorough maſter in all the wiles of his profeſſion. You muſt tell him what is meant by a fox, and diſtinguiſh his real nature from the character given him, by univerſal conſent, in fable.

Allured by the ſmell of a cheeſe!

This cheeſe, held by a raven, perching on a tree, muſt have had a very ſtrong ſmell, to be perceived by the fox in a copſe, or in his burrow. Is it thus you accuſtom your pupil to judge, and to examine, ſo as not to be eaſily impoſed upon, and to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, in different narrations?

Spoke to him nearly in the following manner:

Spoke! Do foxes ſpeak; and do they ſpeak the ſame language as ravens? My learned preceptor, have a care; weigh thy anſwer well, before thou giveſt it. It is of greater conſequence, than thou imagineſt.

So! good-morrow, Mr. Raven!

Mr! This word the child ſees turned into ridicule, even before he knows it to be an honourable title.

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How charming you are; how beautiful you appear in my eye?

A botch, an uſeleſs redundance! The child, hearing the ſame thing repeated in different terms, learns to ſpeak in a daſtardly manner. If you pretend that this redundancy is an artifice of the author, and coincides with the fox's deſign, who makes as if he would multiply his elogiums, together with his words; this excuſe will do for me, but not for my pupil.

Without lying, if your voice

Without lying! Then they tell lies ſometimes? And how greatly will the child be puzzled, if you tell him that the fox makes uſe of the expreſſion, *without lying*, merely becauſe he is telling a lie?

Were anſwerable to the beauty of your feathers;

Were anſwerable! What does this word imply! Learn the child to compare ſuch different qualities, as thoſe of voice and feathers, and you will ſee, in what manner he will underſtand what you ſay.

You would be the phœnix of the inhabitants of theſe groves.

The phœnix! What is a phœnix? You ſee us thrown all of a ſudden into fabulous antiquity; almoſt into mythology.

Of the inhabitants of theſe groves.

What a figurative ſpeech! The flatterer ennobles his language, and gives it a greater dignity, with a view to render it more ſeducing. Will a child underſtand this artifice? Does he know, or is he capable of knowing, the nature of a noble, or trivial ſtile?

At theſe words, the raven is tranſported with joy,

One muſt have felt this paſſion very ſtrong, to be able to underſtand the above expreſſion.

And

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And to ſhew his warbling,

Do not forget, that to underſtand this verſe, and the whole fable, the child muſt know in what the warbling of a raven conſiſts.

He opens his large beak, and drops the cheeſe.

This is an admirable line; I ſee the wide gaping of an ugly beak; I hear the cheeſe rattling amidſt the boughs; but theſe beauties are loſt to children.

The fox lays hold of it, and ſays, my good Sir,

You ſee here, how goodneſs is transferred to a brute; and ſurely children are inſtructed betimes.

Learn that every flatterer

A general maxim; it is beyond our reach.

Lives at the expence of the perſon who hears him.

Never did a child, of ten years of age, underſtand this line.

This leſſon, no doubt, is worth a cheeſe.

This is intelligible, and the thought excellent. Yet there are very few children, who know how to compare a leſſon to a cheeſe, and who would not prefer the latter to the former. You muſt therefore give them to underſtand, that this ſpeech is all raillery. What a deal of refinement for children!

The raven, aſhamed and confuſed,

Another redundancy; but this is inexcuſable.

Swore, but ſomewhat late, that he ſhould be duped no more.

Swore! What a blockhead of a maſter he would be, who ſhould dare to explain the nature of an oath to a child?

Here

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Here you have a long detail; yet not near ſo much, as would be requiſite to analyſe all the ideas of this fable, and to reduce them to the ſimple and elementary notices, of which they are compoſed. But where is the man, that thinks he ſtands in need of this analyſis, to render himſelf intelligible to youth? We are none of us philoſophers enough, to know how to put ourſelves in the place of children. Let us now proceed to the moral.

I would fain know, whether there be any children of ſix years of age, who are to be informed, that ſome men will flatter and tell lies, from a lucrative view? The moſt that we ought to apprize them of, is, that there are ralliers, who make a jeſt of little boys, and laugh in their ſleeves at their fooliſh vanity: but the cheeſe ſpoils all; they do not teach them to keep it from dropping out of their own beak, but to get it from another, by artifice and deceit. This is my ſecond paradox, and not the leaſt important.

Proceed with inſtructing children by fables, and you will find, that as ſoon as they become capable of applying them to life, they generally deviate from the author's intention; and inſtead of guarding againſt the defect, which you are deſirous they ſhould avoid, they will lean towards the vice, by which they can profit, to the diſadvantage of others. In the preceding fable, children laugh at the raven, but are diſpoſed to favour the fox. In the next, you expect to give them the graſshopper, for an example; but you are miſtaken, they will chuſe the ant. They do not like a ſtate of humiliation; they will prefer the ſhining character; this is a very natural choice, and, indeed, the conſequence of ſelf-love. Now, what a ſhocking leſſon is this to children! The moſt odious of all monſters, would be an avaricious, hard-hearted infant, that knew what he was aſked, and what he refuſed. The ant does ſtill more; it teaches him to mix his refuſal with raillery.

In

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In every fable, where the lion is one of the characters, as it it is generally the moſt ſhining, the boy is ſure to make himſelf the king of beaſts; and when he preſides over any diſtribution, being extremely well tutored by his pattern, he takes care to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole. But when the gnat gets the better of that ferocious animal, it is another affair; the child is then no longer a lion, but a gnat. He learns to ſting thoſe to death, whom he durſt not fairly attack.

In the fable of the lean wolf and the fat dog, inſtead of a leſſon of moderation, which is ſaid to be intended for him, the boy learns to be inſolent and unruly. I ſhall never forget a little girl, who wept moſt bitterly, after having been tired to death with this fable, to the end that ſhe might learn from thence the virtue of docility. With difficulty could we diſcover the cauſe of her tears, but we found it out at laſt. The poor child was tired of being chained up; ſhe felt the ſkin peeling off her neck; ſhe cried, becauſe ſhe was not the wolf.

Thus the moral of the firſt quoted fable, is a leſſon of the baſeſt flattery; that of the ſecond, is a recommendation of inhumanity; the third teaches injuſtice; the fourth, ſlander; the fifth, independance. This laſt leſſon is ſuperfluous to my pupil, and not at all ſuitable to yours. When you give them contradictory inſtructions, what hopes can you have of their improvement? But perhaps this morality, which furniſhes me with objections againſt the uſe of fables, may afford as many reaſons for retaining them. Society requires a morality in words, and another in deeds, and theſe two never agree. The firſt is in the catechiſm, where it abides; the ſecond in the fables of La Fontaine for children, and in his tales for their mothers. The ſame author will do for all.

Let us compound the matter, Monſieur de La Fontaine. For my part, I promiſe to read you carefully, to love your writings, and to take inſtructions from

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from your fables; for I hope not to be deceived in regard to their intention. But as to my pupil, excuſe me, if I do not ſuffer him to read one of them, till you have demonſtrated to me, that it is proper for him to learn things, of which he cannot poſſibly comprehend a fourth part; that in the part which there is a poſſibility of his underſtanding, he ſhall not be miſtaken; and inſtead of taking example by the dupe, he will not copy the manners of the knave.

Thus, by ſuppreſſing the ſeveral duties of children, I remove the inſtruments of their greateſt miſery, which are books. Reading is the ſcourge of infants, and almoſt their only employ. Scarce ſhall Emilius know what a book is, at the age of twelve. But I ſhall be told, he ought at leaſt to know how to read; I agree; but he muſt learn to read, when reading will be of ſervice to him; before that time, it will only fill him with diſguſt.

Since we ought to require nothing of children, from a principle of obedience, it follows, that they can learn nothing, without being ſenſible of an actual and preſent advantage from it, either of pleaſure or utility; otherwiſe, what motive could induce them to learn? The art of addreſſing, and hearing from, the abſent; of communicating our ſentiments, our will, our deſires, at a diſtance, without the mediation of a third perſon, is a knowledge that may eaſily be proved to perſons of every age, to be of the utmoſt utility. By what ſtrange infatuation, is this uſeful and agreeable art become a torment to children? Why are they conſtrained to learn it againſt their will; and why is it applied to uſes, ſurpaſſing their capacity? A child is not very eager to improve himſelf, on the inſtrument with which he is tormented; but let it adminiſter to his pleaſures, and he will ſoon make himſelf maſter of it, even againſt your will.

Some have given themſelves a great deal of trouble, in inquiring after the beſt methods to learn to read: lotteries and cards have been rendered conducive to

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this purpoſe; and a child's apartment has been converted into a printer's ſhop. Mr. Locke is for having children learn to read with dice. Is not this a very clever contrivance? What a ſad miſtake! A ſurer method than all theſe, but a method always neglected, is the deſire of learning. Inſtill this into a child, and lay aſide your lotteries and dice; any thing will do for him.

Preſent intereſt is the firſt mover, the only one that can command ſucceſs. Emilius occaſionally receives from his parents, his relations, or friends, notes of invitation to dine, to take a walk, to make a party on the river, or to ſee a public entertainment. Theſe notes are conciſe, perſpicuous, and written in a good hand. He muſt find ſome perſon to explain them; this perſon, either is not always to be met with at a moment's warning, or he ſhews as little complaiſance to the boy to-day, as the latter did to him yeſterday. Thus the opportunity is elapſed. At length the note is read to him, when it is no longer time to comply with the invitation. O, if he did but know how to read! He receives ſome more of the ſame ſort; and they are ſo very ſhort! and the ſubject is ſo intereſting! He would be glad to have them decyphered: ſometimes he meets with a perſon, that obliges him; at other times he receives a repulſe. He labours hard himſelf, and at length he makes out one half of the note; the contents are an invitation given him for to-morrow, to go and eat ſome cheeſecakes..... but he knows not where, nor with whom .... How many efforts he uſes, to make out the remainder! I ſhould think that Emilius has no need of a lottery. Shall I take any notice at preſent of writing? No, I ſhould be aſhamed to amuſe myſelf with ſuch trifles, in a treatiſe on education.

I ſhall only add one word more, which may be conſidered as a remark of conſiderable importance; that generally ſpeaking, children perform very ſoon, whatever is not required of them with great expedition.

I am

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I am almoſt ſure, that Emilius will be able to read and write before he is ten years old, becauſe I am indifferent whether he attains this accompliſhment before he is fifteen. But I had much rather he never knew how to read, than to purchaſe this knowledge at the price of every uſeful improvement: of what ſervice will reading be to him, when he has taken a diſtaſte to it for ever? *Id in primis cavere oportebit, ne ſtudia, qui amare nondum poterit, oderit, & amaritudinem ſemel perceptam etiam ultra rudes annos reformidet**.

The more pains I take to inculcate my method of inaction, the more objections I ſee forming againſt it. If your pupil learns nothing of you, he will of others. If you do not prevent his learning error, by teaching him the truth, he will fill his head with falſities; the prejudices with which you are afraid to infect him, he will imbibe of every body elſe; they will penetrate through his ſenſes; either they will debauch his underſtanding, even before it is formed; or his mind, ſtupefied by long inaction, will be abſorbed in matter. The want of thought in their younger days deſtroys their faculty of thinking all the reſt of their lives.

All theſe objections, I think, might be eaſily anſwered: but why ſhould we have recourſe to anſwers for ever? If my method of education refutes them of itſelf, it is a good one; if it does not, it is of no ſignification: I proceed.

If, upon the plan I have begun to eſtabliſh, you follow ſuch rules as are directly contrary to thoſe which now obtain; if, inſtead of carrying your pupil, on the wings of fancy, to diſtant parts of the globe; inſtead of bewildering him inceſſantly in other countries, climates, and times, as far as the extremity of the earth, and even up to the higheſt heavens, you uſe all diligence to confine him to himſelf, and

* Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

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to render him attentive to what immediately concerns his own mind; then ſhall you find him capable of perception, memory, and even of reaſoning; and this is the order of nature. In proportion as a ſenſitive being attains activity, it acquires alſo a diſcernment ſuitable to its active powers; and it is only by means of the ſuperabundance of that bodily force, which is neceſſary for its preſervation, that the ſpeculative faculty, proper for employing this ſuperabundance to other purpoſes, is gradually unfolded. If you deſire your pupil ſhould improve in mental abilities, let him improve that corporeal ſtrength, which is to be ſubject to their direction. Let his body have continual exerciſe; let him grow ſtrong and robuſt, to the end that he may improve in wiſdom and reaſon; let him labour and toil; let him always be in action, and running about; let him hollow out loud, and be in conſtant motion; let him ſhew himſelf a man by his vigour, and he will ſoon become ſuch by his reaſon.

It is true, you would make a brute of him by this method, if you were perpetually directing him, and pointing out every action he does. If your head is continually to guide his arm, his own is of no uſe to him: but remember our agreement; if you are only a pedant, it is not worth your while to peruſe this work.

It is indeed a lamentable miſtake to imagine, that the exerciſe of the body ſhould prejudice the operations of the mind, as if theſe two actions were not to move in concert, and one ought not always to direct the other!

There are two ſorts of men, who continually inure their bodies to labour, and yet neither of them entertain any thought of cultivating their minds, namely, peaſants and ſavages. The former are clowniſh, awkward, and ſtupid: the latter are known to have good ſenſe, and even ſubtilty of wit: generally ſpeaking, nothing is more heavy than a peaſant, nothing more artful than a ſavage. And whence this difference? but

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but becauſe the former, always employed in what he is ordered, or in ſuch kind of work as he has ſeen his father employed in, or he himſelf has followed from a boy, does every thing by rote; in his manner of life he almoſt reſembles an automaton; and as he is continually exerciſed in the ſame kind of labour, the want of reaſon is ſupplied by the force of habit and obedience.

With regard to the ſavage, it is quite a different affair; confined to no particular ſituation, cramped by no invidious taſk, ſubject to no tyrannical maſter, and controlled by no other law, but his own will, he makes no motion, nor takes a ſingle ſtep, without conſidering the conſequences. Hence the more his body is hardened, the more his mind is enlightened; his ſtrength and underſtanding increaſe at the ſame time, and contribute to each other's improvement.

Learned preceptor, let us ſee which of our two pupils reſembles a ſavage, and which a peaſant. Yours under the perpetual control of arbitrary authority, does nothing but what he is ordered; he dares not eat, when fierce hunger attacks him; nor laugh, when he is diſpoſed to be merry; nor weep, when depreſſed with ſadneſs; nor preſent one hand for another; nor move a foot, but according to preſcription: in ſhort, it will ſoon come to that paſs, that he ſhall not preſume to breathe, but by your direction. How would you have him employ his thoughts, when he is ſolely to depend upon your guidance? Secure of your great foreſight and care, what need he trouble his head about any thing? You charge yourſelf with his preſervation and welfare; he is eaſed of this ſolicitude; he reſts his judgment on yours; whatever you do not debar him from, he does without reflection, firmly perſuaded, that he acts without danger. What occaſion has he to foreſee the approach of rain? he knows, that you obſerve the elements for his uſe. What neceſſity has he to regulate his taking the air? he is not afraid that you will ſuffer him to ſtay beyond his dinner-time. So long

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long as you do not forbid him to eat, he eats; when you desire him to leave off, he leaves off; he does not listen to the dictates of his stomach, but to yours. In vain do you soften his body by inaction, you do not render his understanding more pliant. Quite the contrary, you are the cause of his conceiving a prejudice against reason, by making him employ the little portion he has of it, in matters, in his opinion, altogether unprofitable. As he never perceives any use it answers, he concludes it good for nothing. The worst that could happen to him, were he to reason wrong, would be a rebuke; and to this he is so subject, that it has no effect upon him: the danger is so common, that it lays him under no sort of apprehension.

Yet you think he has some share of wit; yes, to chat nonsense with the women, in the manner above related; but let him be obliged to shew himself a man, or in determining a case attended with any difficulty, you will find him a hundred times more stupid than the greatest clown or peasant whatever.

As for my pupil, or rather the disciple of nature, being early accustomed to depend as much as possible on his own stock, he does not apply incessantly to others for advice, much less does he make a parade of his knowledge. But, on the other hand, he judges, he foresees, he reasons upon every thing that immediately relates to his own person. He does not gabble, he acts; he is ignorant of what happens in the world, but he knows how to behave in a manner becoming himself. Incessantly in motion, he is obliged to observe a great many objects, and to know a variety of effects; he acquires experience betimes; he takes his lessons from nature, not from man; he gains instruction so much the easier, as it comes unperceived. Thus his body and mind are trained to exercise at the same time. Acting up to his own ideas, and not to the notions of others, he constantly unites two different operations: the stronger and more robust he grows, the more he improves in abilities and judg-

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ment. This is the way to attain to perfections, which many conſider as incompatible, yet are generally poſſeſſed by all great men; namely, vigour of body, and ſtrength of mind; philoſophic reaſon, with athletic agility.

I own, my young preceptor, I am laying down the rules of a very difficult art; that of governing without precept, and of executing the whole buſineſs by inaction. This art, I agree, is not adapted to your years; it is not the way to make an early parade of your abilities, nor to recommend yourſelf to the good opinion of parents; but it is the only way to ſucceed in your undertaking. Your pupil will never be a man of ſenſe, unleſs he has been an unlucky boy; this was the education of the Spartans; inſtead of tying them down to books, they taught them to ſteal their dinner. Yet were the Spartans a ſtupid nation? Are not they famous for the ſmartneſs of their repartees? Formed to conqueſt, they ever proved ſuperior to their enemies in all kinds of war; and the loquacious Athenians were as much afraid of their wit, as of their arms.

Under a ſtricter education, the preceptor commands, and thinks he is maſter; but the child is really poſſeſſed of the government. He avails himſelf of your requeſts, to obtain his deſires; and for an hour of aſſiduity, he is ſure to gain eight days of indulgence. Every minute you muſt bargain with him. Theſe treaties, which you propoſe after your way, and he executes after his, generally turn out in favour of his whimſies; eſpecially when the maſter is ſo weak, as to make that a condition to his pupil's advantage, which the latter is ſure of obtaining, whether he fulfils his part of the contract or not. The boy, generally ſpeaking, ſees into his maſter's mind much better than the maſter can into his: and this is very natural; for all the art and ſagacity which a child, in a ſtate of full liberty, would have employed to preſerve his perſon, are now exerted in ſhaking off a tyrannical yoke. Whereas the maſter, hav-

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having no ſuch inducement to watch the other, finds his account ſometimes in conniving at his indolence or folly.

Take quite the oppoſite method with your pupil; let him imagine he is maſter, but let the power be in your hands. There is no greater ſubjection, than that which preſerves the appearance of liberty; for thus the will itſelf is captivated. Is not the poor child, from his very ſtate of ignorance and weakneſs, intirely at your mercy? Do not you direct all his actions? Is it not in your power to turn his affections which way you pleaſe? His toil, his diverſions, his pleaſures, his pains, are not they all, even unknown to him, in your diſpoſal? No doubt, he ought to do nothing, but what pleaſes himſelf; but nothing ſhould pleaſe him, but what you chuſe; he ſhould not take a ſingle ſtep, which you have not pointed out to him; nor ſhould he open his lips, without your foreſeeing the purport of his diſcourſe.

Then it is that he may engage in ſuch bodily exerciſes, as are agreeable to his years, but will not debaſe his underſtanding; inſtead of racking his brain to elude the inconveniencies of ſubjection, you will find him employed in making the beſt uſe of every object he beholds, and in rendering it ſubſervient to his welfare. You will be ſurprized at the ſubtilty of his invention, to obtain a property in whatever falls under his ſenſes, and to ſecure the real enjoyment of things, independently of human opinion.

Thus, by ſuffering him to be at full liberty, you will not encourage his caprices. By entering upon no action, but ſuch as ſuits his inclination, he will quickly arrive at ſuch perfection, as to engage in none inconſiſtent with his duty: and though his body be in conſtant motion, yet ſo long as an eye is had to his preſent intereſt, his reaſon will improve in a manner more ſuitable to his capacity, and more conducive to his advantage, than in ſpeculative ſtudies.

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Hence it is that, not finding you always ready to contradict him, not diſtruſting you, and having nothing to conceal from your knowledge, he will not deceive you; he will not lie, but ſhew himſelf in his real colours, without fear or apprehenſion; you may ſtudy his temper at your eaſe, and ſcatter your leſſons wherever he comes; though he never imagines you intend to inſtruct him.

Neither will he pry into your manners with a jealous eye, and feel a ſecret pleaſure in diſcovering your errors. This is preventing a very great inconveniency. One of the earlieſt ſtudies of children is, as I have already obſerved, to detect the foibles of their governors. This inclination may be productive, but is not the effect, of malice: it is owing to the neceſſity of eluding an odious authority. Oppreſſed by a tyrannical yoke, they endeavour to ſhake it off; and the vices they obſerve in their maſters, furniſh them with a very good pretence for recovering their liberty. In the mean while, they acquire the habit of ſpying into the faults of others, and of taking a pleaſure in detecting their errors. This ſource of vice can never infect Emilius; having no inducement to diſcover any defects, he will watch for none in his maſter, much leſs will he be tempted to obſerve the imperfections of others.

This whole conduct may appear ſomewhat arduous, for want of conſideration; but in the main, it is attended with no great difficulty. We have a right to ſuppoſe you poſſeſſed of the qualifications neceſſary for diſcharging the office you have undertaken; we ſhould preſume, that you know the natural progreſs of the human mind; that you have ſtudied mankind; that you are capable of judging in what manner your pupil will be determined, by ſuch objects as you ſhall exhibit to his view, and are intereſting at his time of life. Now, to be in poſſeſſion of the inſtruments, and to underſtand their right uſe, is ſurely being maſter of the operation.

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You object the whimſies of children: you are miſtaken. Theſe whimſies are not the effect of nature, but of bad diſcipline; it is becauſe they have either obeyed or commanded; and I have ſaid a hundred times, that they muſt do neither. Your pupil will then have no other caprice, but ſuch as he has received from you: and it is but juſt you ſhould be puniſhed for your own fault. But, you will ſay, how ſhall I remedy it? This is ſtill to be done; by better conduct, and great patience.

I had undertaken, for a few weeks, the management of a child, accuſtomed not only to his will, but likewiſe to make every body elſe comply with it, and of courſe entirely governed by fancy and caprice. In order to try my complaiſance, the very firſt day, he would fain riſe at midnight. I was in a profound ſleep, when he jumped out of bed, put on his night-gown, and called me. I roſe, and ſtruck a light; that was all he wanted: in a quarter of an hour, he was overcome with ſleep, and laid down content with his experiment. Two days after, he repeated it with the ſame ſucceſs, and I complied without the leaſt mark of impatience. He embraced me upon coming to-bed again, and I ſaid to him very gravely, My young friend, ſo far is very well, but let us have no more of it. This expreſſion excited his curioſity, and the very next night, being deſirous to ſee whether I ſhould dare to diſobey him, he roſe punctually at the ſame hour, and called me. I aſked him, what he wanted? He anſwered me, he could not ſleep. *So much the worſe*, replied I, and laid ſtill. He begged I would light the candle: *What to do?* and I kept myſelf quiet. This Laconic ſtyle began to embarraſs him. My young gentleman went groping about in the dark, to get at the tinder-box; he pretended to ſtrike fire, and I could not forbear laughing to hear the knocks he gave his fingers. At length, being convinced he ſhould not be able to compaſs it, he brought me the

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tinder-box to-bed; I told him, I had nothing to do with it, and turned on the other ſide. At this he began to run like a mad perſon about the room, hallowing, ſinging, and making a confounded noiſe, hitting himſelf againſt the table and the chairs, but taking ſpecial care not to hurt himſelf, yet raiſing his voice very loud, as if he were half killed, expecting to give me uneaſineſs. But all this did not take, and I perceived that he depended, either on obliging me to ſubmit, or on throwing me into a violent paſſion; but he was not at all prepared for my ſtoic indifference.

Fully determined, however, to overcome my patience by his obſtinacy, he continued the ſame noiſe and racket with ſuch ſucceſs, that at length I began to grow warm; but reflecting that I ſhould ſpoil every thing by unſeaſonable anger, I reſolved to proceed in another manner. I got up, without ſaying a word, went to the tinder-box, but could not find it; I aſked him for it; he gave it me, tranſported with joy at his having at laſt triumphed over me. I ſtruck fire, lighted the candle, and taking my young gentleman by the hand, I led him very quietly to an adjoining cloſet, the ſhutters of which had been faſtened, and which contained no ſort of brittle furniture; there I left him without a light; then locking the door upon him, I came away, and went to-bed, without ſaying a word. You need not aſk me, whether this occaſioned an uproar; I expected it; and was not in the leaſt concerned. At length the noiſe ſubſided; I liſtened, and found he had reconciled himſelf to neceſſity; and I went to ſleep. The next morning, by broad day-light, I opened the cloſet, and found my young rebel reclined on a couch, in a ſound ſleep, which he muſt have greatly wanted, after ſuch an immenſe deal of fatigue.

The affair did not end here. His mamma was apprized, that the child had lain two thirds of the night out of bed. Immediately the houſe was in an alarm; the child would be ſurely killed. The boy, think-

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thinking this a good opportunity for his revenge, pretended ſickneſs; but little did he foreſee it would not avail him. The phyſician was ſent for. Unluckily for the mother, the doctor was a facetious man, who, to amuſe himſelf with her fears, took care to augment them. At the ſame time, he whiſpered me in the ear, Let me alone; I promiſe you the boy ſhall be ſoon cured of his fancied illneſs: in ſhort, the preſcription was abſtinence and confinement to his chamber, and he was put under the care of the apothecary. It grieved my heart to ſee the poor mother ſuch a dupe to every body about her, except myſelf, to whom ſhe took a hatred, merely becauſe I would not deceive her.

After very ſevere reproaches, ſhe told me, her ſon was of a delicate conſtitution, and only heir to the family; that his life muſt be preſerved at any rate, and ſhe would by no means have him contradicted. In this ſhe and I agreed; but by contradicting him, ſhe meant, not obeying him in every thing. I perceived that it was neceſſary to talk to the mother in the ſame ſtrain as to the child. Madam, ſaid I, with an air of indifference, I know not how an only heir is to be educated; and, what is more, I am not deſirous to learn; you may do what you think proper. They wanted my aſſiſtance a little longer. The father made every thing eaſy; the mother wrote to the preceptor to haſten his return; and the boy, finding he ſhould be no gainer by diſturbing me, or feigning ſickneſs, thought proper at length to enjoy his own reſt, and to be in good health.

You cannot imagine what a number of whimſies this little tyrant had taken into his head, in order to enſlave his unfortunate governor: for he was educated under the eye of his mamma, who would not ſuffer the only heir to be diſobeyed in the leaſt tittle. At whatever hour he wanted to go abroad, the poor man muſt be ready to conduct, or rather to follow him; and he was always ſure to pitch upon the very

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moment when his maſter was moſt employed. Fain would he proceed in the ſame imperious manner with me, and to be revenged in the day, for the repoſe he was obliged to let me enjoy by night. I came into every thing very readily, and began with convincing him, of the pleaſure I received, in complying with his deſire. After this was done, when it became neceſſary to cure him of his fancy, I proceeded in a very different manner.

Firſt of all, I was obliged to convince him, from his own manner of acting, that he was in the wrong, which was no difficult matter. Knowing that children think of nothing but the preſent time, I had recourſe to an artifice, to gain the advantage over him, which was eaſily accompliſhed. I provided an amuſement for him at home, which I knew to be moſt agreeable to his taſte; and juſt when I perceived him to be in the marrow of it, I went to him and propoſed a walk; he ſent me away with diſdain; I inſiſted; he would not liſten; I was obliged to ſubmit; and he took particular notice of this mark of ſubjection.

The day following it was my turn. He grew weary of his play-thing, as I foreſaw he would; on the contrary, I ſeemed to be extremely buſy. This was enough to determine him. Without any more ceremony, he came to hawl me away from my work, in order to go and walk with him that inſtant. I refuſed; he grew obſtinate; no, ſaid I to him, by following your will, you have taught me to follow mine; I will not ſtir from hence. Well then, replied he very pertly, I will go by myſelf. As you pleaſe, and I reſumed my work.

He dreſſed himſelf, ſomewhat uneaſy to ſee I let him take his own way, and did not follow his example. As he was juſt ready to go abroad, he came and ſaluted me, and I returned the compliment: he endeavoured to alarm me, with an account of the long excurſion, he was going to make; to hear him talk, you

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you would have imagined, he was undertaking a peregrination to the further end of the globe. Without ſhewing the leaſt emotion or concern, I wiſhed him a good journey. His confuſion was then redoubled. Still he kept his countenance, and juſt as he was ſtepping out of the door, he bid his lackey follow him. The lackey, being taught his leſſon, made anſwer, that he had no time, and that, being employed by my orders, it was his duty to obey me, preferable to him. This was an unexpected blow. It was impoſſible for him to conceive, that a perſon of his great importance, and in whoſe preſervation he thought both heaven and earth were deeply intereſted, would be ſuffered to go abroad by himſelf. In the mean while, he began to be ſenſible of his weakneſs; he perceived, that he was upon the point of venturing his perſon in the midſt of ſtrangers; he ſaw the danger he was likely to encounter; but his obſtinacy ſtill ſupported ſpirit; he went down ſtairs very ſoftly, and quite frightened. At length he found his way into the ſtreet, comforting himſelf, in ſome meaſure, that if any miſchief were to happen to him, I ſhould be anſwerable for it.

This was what I wanted. Every thing was previouſly concerted; and as the point in hand was a kind of public ſcene, I had obtained the father's conſent for my management of the affair. Scarce had he advanced a few paces from home, when he heard ſeveral people, both to the right and to the left, making him the ſubject of their diſcourſe. Neighbour, what a pretty young gentleman! Where is he going all alone? he will certainly be loſt; I will invite him into our houſe. Neighbour, take care what you do. Do not you ſee that this is a young rogue, who has been turned out of doors by his own father, for being ſtark nought? we ſhould not give any ſhelter to libertines; let him go where he pleaſes. Well then! God preſerve him, I ſhould be ſorry if he were to come to any misfortune. A little further, he met with ſome

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ſome black-guard boys, much about his own age, who made their game of him. The further he advanced, the more he was perplexed. Alone, and unprotected, he found himſelf to be a laughing-ſtock to every body, and with great ſurprize perceived, that neither his ſhoulder-knot, nor his lace cloaths, procured him any reſpect.

In the mean while, a friend of mine, whom he had no knowledge of, and whom I had deſired to watch his motions, followed him ſtep by ſtep, without his perceiving it, and accoſted him at a proper time. This was a part that reſembled the character of Sbrigani in Pourceaugnac; it required a man of ſenſe, and ſuch was my friend. Without ſtriking too great a terror into the boy, he made him ſo ſenſible of the imprudence of his conduct, that in half an hour he brought him back to me, quite humble and confuſed, and ſcarce preſuming to lift up his eyes from the ground.

To complete his confuſion, juſt at the very time of his returning from this expedition, his father was going abroad, and met him upon the ſtairs. The poor boy was obliged to tell where he had been, and why I was not with him (16). He would have been glad, at that time, to be a hundred feet under ground. Without giving himſelf the trouble to make him a long reprimand, the father ſaid to him, with a greater air of indifference, than I could have expected; when you have a mind to go abroad alone, you are at liberty to do it; but as I do not chuſe to keep a vagabond under my roof, whenever that happens, take care you never ſet your foot in this houſe again.

For my part, I received him without making the leaſt reproach or raillery, but with ſome gravity; and leſt he ſhould ſurmiſe, that what had paſt was only

(16) In ſuch a caſe as this, you may without any riſk inſiſt on the child's telling the truth; for then he is very ſenſible it is impoſſible for him to conceal it; and that if he dared to tell a lie, he would be immediately detected.

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in jeſt, I did not carry him out to walk till the next day. Then I was greatly pleaſed to ſee, that in my company he paſſed triumphantly before thoſe very people, who had derided him ſo lately for walking by himſelf. I leave you to imagine, whether he ever threatened again to go abroad without me.

By theſe, and ſuch like artifices, during the little time my authority laſted, I gained my ends, and made him comply with whatever I pleaſed, without commanding, or forbidding, without ſermons or exhortations, or without importuning him with uſeleſs diſcourſes. Thus, ſo long as I converſed with him, he was content; but my ſilence held him in fear; it gave him to underſtand, that ſomething did not go right; and his inſtruction always flowed from the very thing itſelf. But let us return.

This continual exerciſe, under the ſole direction of nature, at the ſame time that it hardens the body, is ſo far from ſtupefying the mind, that, on the contrary, it forms the only ſpecies of reaſon, of which our early years are ſuſceptible, and the moſt neceſſary for every age whatſoever. It teaches us to underſtand the right uſe of our ſtrength; the relations between our own and extraneous bodies; the uſe of natural inſtruments within our reach, and ſuited to our organs. Can there be any thing more ſtupid, than a child that never ſtirs out of his room, but is always kept under his mother's wing? Ignorant of the nature of weight and reſiſtance, he would fain pluck up a tree by the root, or overturn a rock. The firſt time I ſtirred from Geneva, I wanted to follow a horſe at full gallop; and flung ſtones at mount Saleve, which was two leagues diſtant: thus was I the ſport of all the children of the village, and appeared an idiot in their eye. At eighteen years of age, we learn, in our philoſophical ſchools, the nature of a leaver; yet there is not a little country boy at twelve, but knows how to make uſe of that inſtrument much better than any member of the academy. The

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leſſons which boys learn of one another, as they walk about the college, are a hundred times of more ſervice to them, than thoſe they hear in their reſpective claſſes.

Obſerve a cat the firſt time it enters a room: it looks about, it ſearches, it ſmells, it is not a minute at reſt; it truſts to nothing, till it has made a thorough inquiry. Thus a child behaves upon beginning to walk; and to enter, as it were, into the world's expanſe. The only difference between them is, that the child makes his obſervations by the touch, and the cat by its exquiſite ſmell. The improvement or neglect of this diſpoſition, is what renders children either dexterous or aukward, heavy or lively, ſtupid or ſagacious.

Since therefore the firſt natural motions of man conſiſt in comparing every object that ſurrounds him, and in experiencing thoſe ſenſible qualities which may be any way relative to himſelf, his firſt ſtudy is a kind of experimental phyſics in regard to his own preſervation, and from which he is diverted by ſpeculative ſtudies, before he knows his ſtation here below. While his organs, as yet pliant, are capable of adapting themſelves to their reſpective objects, while his ſenſes are ſtill pure and free from illuſion, this is the right time for exerciſing them in their proper functions, the time for learning the ſenſible relations between the objects and us. Since whatever enters the human underſtanding is introduced by the ſenſes, man's primitive reaſon is of the ſenſitive kind, and ſerves for a baſis to the intellectual: our firſt maſters of philoſophy are our feet, our hands, our eyes. To ſubſtitute books in their place, is not teaching us to reaſon, but to make uſe of that of others; it is teaching us to believe a great deal, and to know nothing.

Whoever would practiſe an art, ſhould begin with procuring its inſtruments; and to employ theſe to any advantage, it is requiſite they ſhould be made of ſuch ſolid matter, as ſhall be able to bear the uſe to which they

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they are applied. To learn therefore to think, we muſt exerciſe our members, our ſenſes, our organs, which are the inſtruments of our underſtanding; and to make the moſt of theſe inſtruments, the body, which furniſhes them, ought to be ſound and robuſt. Hence it follows, that human reaſon is ſo far from being formed independently of the body, that a good conſtitution ſtrengthens and facilitates the operations of the mind.

In pointing out the manner in which the early years of infants are to be employed, I enter into a detail, which to ſome will appear ridiculous. Pretty leſſons, they will tell me, which fall under your own cenſure, for teaching what no body has occaſion to learn! Why ſhould we waſte our time in inſtructions, which will certainly come ſpontaneouſly, without any ſolicitude or trouble. Is there a child that does not perform what you are ſo impatient to communicate to yours, and even what his maſters have taught him?

Gentlemen, you are miſtaken. I inſtruct my pupil in a very tedious and painful art, ſuch as none of yours, I am pretty ſure, have learnt; that of being ignorant: for the knowledge of a perſon, who thinks he knows no more than he really does, amounts to a mere trifle. You communicate ſcience: well and good; but I am employed about the inſtrument proper for acquiring that ſcience. It is reported, that the Venetians happening one day to exhibit, with great pomp, the treaſure of St. Mark to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, all the compliment the latter made, after looking under the tables, was to ſay, *Quì non c'è la radice.* Never did I ſee a preceptor diſplaying the knowledge of his pupil, but I was tempted to ſay as much to him.

Thoſe who have reflected on the method of living among the ancients, attribute that vigour of body and mind, for which they were ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed from the moderns, to gymnaſtic exerciſes.

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The manner in which Montagne ſupports this opinion ſhews, that he was fully convinced of it; he continually returns to the point, and proves it a thouſand different ways. Treating of the education of a child; to enlarge his mind, he ſays, you muſt harden his muſcles; by accuſtoming him to labour, you inure him to pain; break him, by the ſeverity of exerciſe, to the pain of diſlocation, or to that of the colic, or of other diſorders. The ſage Mr. Locke, the good Monſ. Rollin, the learned Fleury, the pedant Crouſaz, though they differ ſo widely from each other in every thing elſe, agree nevertheleſs in this ſingle point, that it is neceſſary to uſe children to a great deal of exerciſe. Of all their precepts, this is the moſt judicious; and yet it ſtill is, and ever will be, the moſt neglected. I have ſaid enough, in regard to its importance; but as I cannot give better or more ſenſible reaſons on this ſubject, than are to be found in Mr. Locke's diſcourſe, I ſhall be content with referring to it, after taking the liberty to add a few obſervations to his.

A growing body ought to be at full liberty in every part, nothing ought to check the motion or increaſe of the limbs; nothing ſhould be too tight, or ſit very cloſe, and there ſhould be no ligatures. The French dreſs is uneaſy and inſalutary to men, but to children moſt pernicious. The circulation of the humours being ſtopped, they begin to ſtagnate, and this ſtagnation, increaſed by an indolent and ſedentary life, at length occaſions the ſcurvy, a malady every day more common amongſt us, but almoſt unknown to the ancients, whoſe manner of life and dreſs preſerved them from it. The huſſar habit, inſtead of remedying, increaſes the inconveniency; and to ſave a child from ligatures, preſſes its whole body. The beſt way is to let him wear his frock as long as poſſible, then to give him a very wide coat, and not to mind his ſhape; ſince this is the only way to ſpoil it. The corporeal and mental defects of children are generally

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nerally owing to the ſame cauſe; we would fain make them men before their time.

There are gay, and there are gloomy colours; the former are more agreeable to children; they likewiſe become them better, and I ſee no reaſon why ſuch natural congruities ſhould not be conſulted. But when once they prefer a coat, becauſe it is fine, or dawbed with lace, their hearts are infected by luxury, and by the caprice of mode and opinion; although it is certain, that they never imbibed this taſte of themſelves. You cannot imagine what an influence the choice of apparel, and the motives of this choice, have in regard to education. Not only fond mothers are accuſtomed to promiſe fine cloaths to their children, as a reward; but ſtupid governors often threaten their pupils with a coarſer and plainer habit, by way of puniſhment. If you do not mind your book, if you do not take better care of your cloaths, you ſhall go dreſſed like that little country boy. This is juſt as if you were to ſay, Know, that man is formed by his apparel; your whole worth conſiſts in yours. Are we to be ſurprized, if ſuch ſage leſſons prove inſtructive to youth; if they ſet a value entirely upon dreſs, and judge of merit only from external appearance?

Were it my province to cure a child, whoſe head had been filled with theſe notions, I ſhould take care that his richeſt apparel ſhould be the moſt incommodious; that he ſhould be uneaſy and confined under it a thouſand different ways; that liberty and mirth ſhould ſhun his magnificence; that if he wanted to play with other boys, who dreſſed in plainer apparel than himſelf, I ſhould put a ſtop to all their ſport in an inſtant. In ſhort, I ſhould give him ſuch a ſurfeit of his finery, and make him ſuch a ſlave to his laced coat, that it would become the very plague of his life, and he would behold with leſs horror the darkeſt priſon, than the trappings of lace. So long as a child has not been ſpoilt by prejudice; eaſe, and

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freedom are his chief deſire. The dreſs he ſets the moſt value upon, is the plaineſt, the moſt convenient, and that which confines him leaſt.

There is an habit of body ſuited to exerciſe, and another to inaction. The latter ſuffering the humours to circulate in an equal and uniform courſe, ought to guard the body againſt the alterations of the air and weather; the former obliging it to paſs inceſſantly from motion to reſt, and from heat to cold, ought to inure it to thoſe very changes. Thence it follows, that ſedentary people, who abide much within doors, ſhould at all times dreſs warm, in order to preſerve the body in an uniform temper, nearly the ſame in all ſeaſons, and at all hours of the day. On the contrary, they who run to and fro, hail, rain, or ſun-ſhine, continually in action, and ſpending moſt of their time *ſub dio*, ſhould always have a light cloathing, in order to inure themſelves to the different viciſſitudes of the air, and to all the degrees of weather. My advice to both would be, not to change their apparel according to the ſeaſons; and this ſhall be the conſtant practice of my Emilius. I do not mean however by this, that he ſhould wear his winter cloaths in ſummer, like ſedentary people: but that he ſhould wear his ſummer cloaths in winter, like perſons inured to labour. The latter was the practice of Sir Iſaac Newton, who lived to the age of fourſcore.

Let there be but little or no covering on the head at any ſeaſon whatever. The ancient Egyptians went always bare-headed; the Perſians covered theirs with large tiara's, and ſtill make uſe of thick turbants, the air of that country rendering the uſe of ſuch a covering, according to Sir John Chardin, abſolutely neceſſary: I have elſewhere taken notice (17) of the diſtinction, which Herodotus made

(17) Letter to M. d'Alembert on the frequenting of public ſpectacles.

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on the field of battle between the Perſian and Egyptian ſkulls. Since it is therefore of great conſequence, that the ſkull ſhould become hard and compact, the better to defend the brain, not only againſt all cuts and wounds, but likewiſe againſt violent colds, and injuries of weather; I would adviſe you to accuſtom your pupils to go winter and ſummer, by day as well as by night, conſtantly bare-headed. But if you ſhould think proper to let them wear a night-cap in bed, on account of cleanlineſs, and to keep their hair in order, let it be a very fine one, and like the network in which the people of Biſcay tie up their hair. I am not ignorant, that moſt mothers, more ſtruck with Sir John Chardin's obſervations than with mine, will imagine the air of Perſia to extend itſelf to every country; but I have not choſen that my pupil ſhould be a native of Europe, in order to transform him into an Aſiatic.

Children, generally ſpeaking, are clad too warm, and eſpecially in the earlieſt part of life. It would be much better to inure them to cold, than to heat; for great cold never does them any damage, when they are expoſed to it betimes; but in violent heats, the laxneſs of their ſkin leaves too great a paſſage for perſpiration, exhauſts their ſtrength, and occaſions exceſſive debility. Hence we obſerve, that more children die in Auguſt than in any other month. Beſides, it appears pretty conſtant, from comparing the Southern and Northern nations, that they become more robuſt by exceſs of cold, than by that of heat; but, in proportion as the child grows up, and his fibres are ſtrengthened, you may accuſtom him gradually to defy the ſcorching ſun-beams; and, by an inſenſible progreſs, you may even inure him to the ſultry heats of the torrid zone.

Amidſt the great number of judicious rules laid down by Mr. Locke, we find, that this author falls into contradictions, which one would not have expected from ſo exact a reaſoner. This ſame gentle-

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man, who is for having children go into the cold bath in the midſt of ſummer, is againſt their drinking any thing cold, or lying upon the ground in moiſt places (18), when they happen to be overheated by exerciſe. But ſince he is for having children's ſhoes made ſo thin, as to leak and let in water at all times, will the leaking be leſſened when the boy is warm; and may we not draw the ſame inference from the body, in regard to the feet, as he does from the feet to the hands, and from the body to the face? I ſhould ſay to him, If you are deſirous, that man were all face, why do you blame me for wanting him to be all feet?

To prevent children from drinking when they are hot, he preſcribes the accuſtoming them to eat a bit of dry bread before they drink. This is very extraordinary, that when a boy is thirſty, you muſt give him ſomething to eat; I had much rather make him drink, when he is hungry. I can never be perſuaded, that our natural appetites are ſo irregular, as to render it impoſſible to indulge them without danger. Were this the caſe, the human ſpecies would have been deſtroyed long before they had learnt what was neceſſary to preſerve it.

Whenever Emilius is thirſty, I am for letting him drink. Give him nothing but water, without any preparation, not ſo much as taking the chill off, were it even in the middle of winter. The only thing I recommend is, to diſtinguiſh the quality of that liquid. If it be river water, let him have it immediately, juſt as it comes out of the ſtream. Should it be ſpring water, let it ſtand ſome time in the open air, before he drinks it. In ſummer the rivers are warm; but this is not the caſe of ſpring water, that

(18) Juſt as if the country boys choſe a dry ſpot of ground to ſit down or to lie upon, and it were ever heard, that they had received any injury from the moiſture of the earth. To hear the phyſicians talk on this ſubject, one would think that the ſavages were all laid up with the rheumatiſm.

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has not been expoſed to the air. It is therefore proper, to wait till it has imbibed the temperature of the atmoſphere. On the contrary, in winter, the water drawn from fountains is leſs dangerous, in this reſpect, than that of running ſtreams. But it is neither natural nor uſual, that people ſhould throw themſelves into a ſweat in winter, eſpecially out of doors. For the cold air, continually acting upon the ſurface of the ſkin, repels the ſweat inwardly, and prevents the pores from being opened ſufficiently for that moiſture to tranſude. Now I do not deſire, that Emilius ſhould exerciſe himſelf in the winter by a good warm fire, but out in the fields, in the midſt of froſt and ſnow. So long as he warms himſelf only by throwing ſnow-balls, let him drink when he is dry, and continue his diverſion after he has drank; there is no danger. But if he has put himſelf into a ſweat by means of any other exerciſe, and he ſhould be thirſty, even then he may drink cold water. Only take care to lead him gently to ſome little diſtance to fetch it. The weather being ſuppoſed to be very ſevere, he will be ſufficiently cooled, when he arrives at the ſpot, to drink without danger. Eſpecially I would have you uſe theſe precautions unknown to him. For I had rather he were ſometimes indiſpoſed, than unceaſingly attentive to his health.

Children muſt have a large allowance of ſleep, becauſe they uſe a great deal of exerciſe. One ſerves for a corrective to the other; and we find, that they ſtand in need of both. The time for reſt is the night, which is pointed out by nature. By conſtant obſervation, we find that our ſleep is much ſofter and ſounder, when the ſun is beneath the horizon; and that when the air begins to feel the influence of its rays, our ſenſes do not enjoy ſo profound a tranquillity. Therefore the wholeſomeſt way, without all manner of doubt, is, to riſe and ſet with that great luminary. Hence it follows, that in our part of the world, man, and all animals whatever, require

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in general more ſleep in winter than in ſummer. But our preſent manner of living is not ſo ſimple, ſo natural, nor ſo exempt from viciſſitudes and accidents, as to permit our eſtabliſhing this as an indiſpenſible law, from which a boy is never to deviate. No doubt but he muſt ſubmit to rules; but the principal of all is, to be able to depart from them without any inconvenience, whenever occaſion requires. Be not then ſo indiſcreet as to ſoften your pupil, by allowing him to continue in a peaceful ſleep without your ever waking him. Let him, in the firſt place, freely comply with the law of nature; but do not forget, that he ought ſometimes to be above that law; that he ought to be able to ſit up late, to riſe early, to be awaked ſuddenly out of his ſleep, to be all night on his legs, without feeling any inconvenience from it. By taking theſe ſteps betimes, and proceeding gently, you may form the conſtitution to ſuch hardſhips, as would ſurely deſtroy it, if the contrary habit were once ſettled.

It is of the utmoſt importance for him to accuſtom himſelf to lie hard; this is the ſure way of never meeting with a bad bed. Generally ſpeaking, a ſevere manner of living, when become habitual, multiplies our agreeable ſenſations; as, on the other hand, an effeminate life prepares the way for many mortifications. Perſons brought up too delicately can ſleep no where but on a down bed; people accuſtomed to lie on boards, are accommodated every where; no bed is hard to him who falls aſleep, as ſoon as he reclines his head.

A ſoft bed, where you are buried in feathers, in ſome meaſure melts and diſſolves the body. The reins from this warm wrapping are overheated; which is often the cauſe of the ſtone and other inconveniencies, but eſpecially of a tender, weakly conſtitution, the root and foundation of all diſeaſes.

The beſt bed is that which promotes the ſoundeſt ſleep. Emilius and I make our own beds in the day-

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day-time. We do not want ſlaves from Perſia to ſhake the down; by tilling the ground, we ſoften our mattreſs.

I know by experience, that when a child is in good health, you may make him fall aſleep, or keep him awake, whenever you pleaſe. After he is gone to-bed, and has tired his governante with his prattle, ſhe bids him *go to ſleep*; which is much the ſame, as if ſhe were to deſire him, *to be in good health*, when he was troubled with any ailment or complaint. The right way of making him fall aſleep is, to let him tire himſelf. Talk to him inceſſantly; he will then be obliged to hold his tongue, and of courſe he will ſoon fall aſleep: ſermons, you ſee, are good for ſomething; to preach to him, is the ſame as rocking him to ſleep; but if you uſe this narcotic at night, take care not to apply to it in the day.

I ſhall rouze Emilius ſometimes out of his ſleep, not ſo much to prevent his acquiring a habit of drowzineſs, as to inure him to every hardſhip, to be awakened out of his ſleep, and even to have it broke off with a ſudden alarm. However, I ſhould be very unfit for my employ, if I knew not how to oblige him to wake of himſelf, and to riſe as it were at my will and pleaſure, without ſaying a ſingle word to him.

If he does not ſleep enough, I let him foreſee overnight, that he is to have a tireſome morning, ſo that he himſelf ſhall look upon the time that he can enjoy in ſleep, as clear profit: if he indulges himſelf too long in bed, I ſhew him ſome favourite diverſion as ſoon as he awakes. If I want him to get up at a particular hour, I tell him; to-morrow at ſix we go a fiſhing, or we take a walk to ſome pleaſant place, will you make one of the party? He agrees, and begs me to awake him; I promiſe I will, or I let it alone, according as I judge proper: if he riſes too late, he finds me gone. He muſt be very unlucky indeed, if he does not ſoon learn to awake of himſelf.

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As for the reſt, if it ſhould happen, which is very rare, that ſome indolent child ſhould be inclined to indulge a drowſy lazineſs, you muſt not humour him in a diſpoſition, that will render him altogether ſtupid; but give him ſomething ſtimulating to awake him. It is obvious, that I do not mean here to ſpeak of violence, but to excite him by ſome appetite or natural deſire, which being judiciouſly choſen, is conducive to a double end.

I am apt to imagine there is nothing in life, but with a little artifice may be recommended to the taſte of children, even ſo as to make them paſſionately fond of it, without having recourſe to the contrivances of vanity, emulation, or jealouſy. For this end, their natural vivacity and imitative genius are ſufficient; but, above all, you may avail yourſelf of that ſure inſtrument, their love of play, though no preceptor has hitherto made uſe of it. In all ſports, where they believe that nothing more than play is intended, they ſuffer without grumbling, and even with alacrity, what they would not otherwiſe undergo without grief and reluctance. Long faſting, heavy blows, heat of weather, and fatigues of every kind, are amuſements to the young ſavages; an argument that even pain itſelf has a ſeaſoning, which may remove its bitterneſs; but all maſters have not the art of dreſſing this ragoo, neither perhaps have all pupils a capacity to reliſh it. And now, without particular care, I ſhall find myſelf bewildered again in exceptions.

But what admits of no exception, is man's ſubjection to pain, to the accidents and perils of life, and, in ſhort, to mortality. The more he has familiarized himſelf to theſe ideas, the ſooner he will be cured of that importunate ſenſibility, which increaſes the evil by impatience: the more he inures himſelf to the ſufferings incident to human nature, the more he will blunt their edge, or, as Montagne expreſſes himſelf, will take off the ſuddenneſs of their attack, and the

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the ſoul will be rendered ſo conſtant and firm, as to become invulnerable: thus his body ſhall be armed, as it were, with a cuiraſs, that will make thoſe weapons recoil, which would have otherwiſe pierced his heart. Even the approach of death will not be armed with its uſual terror, in regard to him; ſcarce will he feel its laſt attack; he will not linger in that awful change, but will paſs, as it were, inſtantaneouſly to his diſſolution. Of him the ſame Montagne might have ſaid, what he once mentioned of a king of Morocco, that no man ever lived ſo long in death. Conſtancy and firmneſs of mind are, like other virtues, to be early inſtilled into the minds of infants; it is not, however, merely by learning their names that they are taught thoſe virtues, but by giving them a reliſh for the practice of them, even before they are well acquainted with their nature.

But ſince we have been upon the ſubject of dying, how ſhall we behave towards our pupil, in regard to the ſmall-pox? Shall we inoculate him when he is very young, or ſhall we wait till he catches it in a natural manner? The former method, more agreeable to our practice, enſures the moſt valuable part of life, at the riſk of the leaſt valuable; if yet we can give the name of riſk to a ſkilful inoculation.

But the latter is more conſonant to our general principles, to let nature operate in every thing, where ſhe chuſes to take the whole care to herſelf, and withdraws her attendance, as ſoon as human ſkill attempts to intermeddle. Man under the direction of nature is always prepared; let him be inoculated by that able hand; ſhe knows the proper time much better than we.

Do not infer from thence, that I condemn inoculation; the reaſon I make uſe of to exempt my pupil from it, is not at all applicable to yours. Their manner of education expoſes them to the utmoſt danger from this diſtemper: if you ſuffer it to ſeize them in the ordinary way, there is great probability of its proving fatal. I obſerve, that in different countries,

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tries, they are greater enemies to inoculation, in proportion as they have more need of it; and the reaſon is obvious. Therefore I ſhall hardly think it worth while, to make this a queſtion for my Emilius. He ſhall be inoculated, or not, according to the circumſtances of time, and place; for this is almoſt a matter of indifference to him. If you give him the ſmall-pox, he will have the advantage of being prepared againſt his illneſs, and that is ſomething; but if he takes it naturally, we preſerve him from the doctor, and that is ſomething more.

An excluſive education, which only tends to diſtinguiſh thoſe who receive it from the common people, prefers the moſt expenſive inſtructions, to thoſe which are moſt common, and conſequently moſt uſeful. Hence it is, that young gentlemen are all taught to ride, becauſe it is an article that requires money; but ſcarce one of them learns to ſwim, becauſe it coſts them nothing, and a common artiſan may be as ſkilful as the fineſt gentleman in that uſeful art. Yet, without having been ever at an academy, a traveller may know how to mount his horſe, to ſit in his ſaddle, and to ride well enough for his purpoſe: but if you do not ſwim, when you are in the water, you muſt be drowned; and it is impoſſible to be practiſed in this art, without having learnt it. In fine, no body is obliged to mount on horſeback upon pain of death; whereas, the danger of drowing is ſo frequent, that no mortal whatever is ſure of eſcaping it. The water ſhall be as familiar to Emilius, as land; I wiſh he could live in all the elements! If he could learn to fly, I would make him an eagle; could he be inured to the fire, he ſhould be a ſalamander.

You are afraid the child ſhould be drowned in learning to ſwim; whether he be drowned in learning, or for not having learnt, to ſwim, it is all your fault. It is vanity alone, that inſpires us with temerity; we are never raſh, when no body ſees us: Emilius would not be raſh, were the eyes of all the world to be upon him.

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him. As the exercise does not depend on danger, he would learn to cross the Hellespont, in a pond belonging to his father's garden; but he shall also be made acquainted with the danger, that he may learn not to fear it; for this is an essential part of the initiation, or apprenticeship, I was mentioning a while ago. As for the rest, I shall take care to measure the danger by his strength, and always to share it with him; so that I shall have no imprudence to dread on his side, as the care I have for his preservation, shall be regulated by that, which I have for my own.

A child has neither the size, the strength, nor reason of a man; but he sees and hears as well, or very near as well, as any adult person whatever; his palate is as sensible, though not so delicate; and he distinguishes smells, with the same acuteness, though not with the same pleasure. The first powers, or faculties, formed in man, are the sensitive, they are therefore the first we ought to cultivate; whereas, commonly speaking, they are either quite forgotten, or the most neglected.

To exercise the senses, is not only to make use of their organs, but, moreover, to form a right judgment, by means of their operations, to learn, as it were, to have sensible perceptions; for we can neither touch, nor see, nor hear, but as we have learnt to perform these sensations.

There are some kinds of exercise, merely natural and mechanical, which contribute to bodily strength, without impairing the mind; swimming, running, leaping, whipping a top, throwing stones, all that is very well: but have we nothing more than legs and arms? Have not we also eyes and ears, and are these organs altogether superfluous, in the use of those limbs? You are therefore not only to exercise your bodily strength, but the organs of sense, by which that strength is directed; apply them to the best purposes you are able, and make use of their mutual assistance to ascertain their different degrees of impression.

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You are to measure, to reckon, to weigh, and compare. Do not have recourse to force, till you have weighed the resistance; and always take care, that the application of the means shall be preceded by an estimate of the effect. Engage the child never to make any insufficient, or needless efforts. If you accustom him thus to foresee the effect of all his motions, and to rectify his errors by experience; is it not clear, that by the increase of his activity, he will improve the more in judgment?

Suppose he is to move a heavy weight? if he takes too long a lever, he will expend too much motion; if too short, he will not have sufficient strength: experience will shew him, how to make use of the proper instrument. This kind of knowledge does not therefore exceed his years. Suppose he is to carry a burden? if he would have one as heavy as he is able to carry, and does not make an essay, by raising it from the ground, will not he be obliged to estimate the weight by the eye? When he is capable of comparing masses of the same matter, but of different magnitudes, let him chuse out of masses of the same magnitude, but of different matter; he will then be obliged to compare their specific weight. I have seen a young man, of very good education, who would not believe, till he had tried the experiment, that a pail, filled with bits of timber, weighed less, than the same vessel full of water.

Our sensitive faculties are not all equally under our command. There is one, namely, the touch, which is in continual exercise, while we are awake; its activity is diffused over the whole surface of the body, as a constant guard, to apprize us of every object capable of annoying us. Hence it is that we acquire, whether we will or not, the earliest experience by this continual exercise, and, of course, we have less occasion to give it any particular improvement. Yet we observe, that the blind have a more delicate and surer touch than we; as they are not directed by the

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the eye, they find themſelves obliged to depend entirely on the touch, for the deciſions with which we are furniſhed by viſual perception. How comes it then, that we do not learn, like them, to walk in the dark, to know thoſe bodies which we are capable of reaching, to judge of objects that ſurround us, in a word, to perform by night, and without light, what they do by day, and without eyes? So long as the ſun is upon our hemiſphere, we have the advantage of them; in the dark, they are our guides. We are blind one half of our lives; with this difference, that thoſe who are really deprived of their ſight, know how to conduct themſelves, whereas, we dare not ſtir a ſingle ſtep, in the dead of the night. We have lights, you will ſay to me: What! machines for ever! Who aſſured you, that they will follow you wherever you want them? For my part, I had rather Emilius had his eyes at his fingers ends, than in a tallow-chandler's ſhop.

Suppoſe you are ſhut up in a large building, in the middle of the night, clap both your hands together, and by the echo, you will perceive whether the place is large or ſmall, whether you are in the middle, or in one corner. At half a foot from the wall, the air being leſs ambient and more reflected, will affect your face in another manner. Stay where you are, and turn round on every ſide, by a ſmall draught of air, you will be capable of judging, whether the door be open. If you are in a boat, you will know by the wind, as you feel it blowing in your face, not only in what direction you are going, but whether it be a ſlow or quick current. Theſe, and a thouſand ſuch obſervations, cannot be well formed but in the night; for how attentive ſoever we may be to them in the open day, we ſhall be either aſſiſted, or hindered by our ſight, ſo that they muſt eſcape our notice. Yet here we have recourſe neither to our hands, nor to a ſtick: what a deal of ocular knowledge may therefore be acquired by the touch, even without touching any thing at all!

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Accuſtom your pupil to nocturnal diverſions. This is an advice of greater importance, than would at firſt be imagined. Men, and ſometimes animals (19), are naturally ſtruck with terror in the night. Few are exempted from this tribute, even with the aſſiſtance of learning, reaſon, wit, and courage. I have ſeen reaſoners, free-thinkers, philoſophers, ſoldiers intrepid as a lion in the day time, tremble in the night like women, at the ruſtling of a leaf. This terror is generally attributed to the tales of nurſes; but it is a miſtake; there is a natural cauſe for it. What is that? The ſame that renders the deaf ſuſpicious, and the common people ſuperſtitious, the ignorance of objects that ſurround us, and of what is tranſacting in our neighbourhood (20). Accuſtomed to behold things from afar, and to anticipate their impreſſions,

(19) This terror is very manifeſt in great ſolar eclipſes.

(20) Here is another cauſe, extremely well explained by a philoſopher, whoſe writings I often quote, and by whoſe diſcoveries I am ſtill oftener inſtructed.

" Whenever, by means of particular circumſtances, we cannot have a juſt idea of the diſtance, and we are incapable of judging of the objects, but by the angle, or rather the image under which they appear to the eye, we are then neceſſarily miſtaken, in regard to the ſize, or magnitude of thoſe objects. Every body muſt have experienced, that travelling in the night, we take a ſhrub, to which we are near, for a large tree at ſome diſtance, or *vice verſa*; in like manner, if we have no knowledge of the objects but by their ſhape and form, and we cannot, by this means, have any idea of the diſtance, we muſt ſtill be miſtaken: a fly, that moved very ſwiftly within a few inches from my eye, would, in that caſe, appear like a bird a conſiderable way off; a horſe in the middle of a field, and in the attitude, for example, of a ſheep, would appear to us like a large ſheep, ſo long as we did not know it to be a horſe: but as ſoon as we come near enough to diſtinguiſh it, we immediately perceive it to be as big as a horſe, and then we rectify our former judgment.

" Whenever we find ourſelves in a ſtrange place, in the night, where we are incapable of judging of the diſtance, and cannot diſcern the ſhape or form of objects, becauſe of the obſcurity,

preſſions, if my viſual perception is ſuſpended, how can I avoid ſuppoſing a thouſand objects, and a thouſand motions capable of hurting me, and againſt which, it is impoſſible for me to guard? In vain do

" ſcurity, we ſhall be in danger of falling immediately into an " error, in regard to our judgment, on every thing we meet. " Thence ariſes that apprehenſion and internal fear, which the " generality of mankind feel in a dark night; hence thoſe " frightful ſpectres and gigantic figures, which ſo many pretend " to have beheld. The anſwer commonly given to them, is that " thoſe figures were in their imagination; yet they might have " been really painted on their eyes: and it is poſſible, they might " have really beheld, what they declare themſelves to have ſeen; " for whenever they are incapable of judging of the object, but " by the angle formed in the eye, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that " this unknown object will magnify and enlarge, in proportion " as we draw nearer towards it. And when the ſpectator is in- " capable of diſtinguiſhing the object he beholds, or of judging " of its diſtance, if it appear at firſt a few feet high, when it was " at the diſtance of twenty or thirty paces, it ought to appear " ſeveral fathoms, when it comes to be only a few feet diſtant; " which, indeed, muſt affect him with terror and ſurprize, till at " length he comes to touch, or to diſtinguiſh the object. For as " ſoon as he knows what it is, that ſame object, which appeared " of a gigantic ſize to him, will ſuddenly diminiſh, and aſſume " its real magnitude. But if you avoid, or dare not approach " it, you will ſurely have no other idea of it, than that of the " image formed in the eye, and you muſt really have ſeen a gi- " gantic figure, or a figure formidable from its ſize and make. " The prejudice of ſpectres and apparitions, is therefore founded " in nature, and theſe appearances do not, as philoſophers are " apt to think, depend intirely on the imagination." *Buffon, Hiſt. Nat. tom. 6. p. 22.* in 12mo.

I have endeavoured to ſhew in the text, how theſe appearances in part depend on the imagination; and with regard to the cauſe, explained in the foregoing paſſage, it is obvious, that the habit or practice of walking by night, ought to enable us to diſtinguiſh thoſe appearances, which the reſemblance of forms and the variety of diſtances give to objects in the dark. For when the atmoſphere is ſufficiently clear, to let us diſtinguiſh the outlines of objects, as there is a greater interpoſition of air at a greater diſtance, we cannot, of courſe, have ſo diſtinct a view of thoſe outlines, as if the object were nearer. Thus habit is ſufficient to preſerve us from the error above explained by M. Buffon. But whatever explication be adopted, my method is always effectual, and confirmed by experience.

I know,

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I know, that I am very ſafe in this particular ſpot; I am not ſo fully convinced of it, as if I diſtinguiſhed by my eye; and therefore I have a reaſon now to be afraid, which I had not in the day time. It is true, I know that another body can hardly act upon mine, without ſignifying its approach by ſome ſound or other; and hence it is, that I have my ear always attentive. At the leaſt noiſe I hear, and cannot account for, ſelf-preſervation makes me ſuppoſe every thing that can engage me to be upon my guard, and of courſe every thing capable of filling me with terror.

But ſuppoſe I hear nothing at all: yet I am not eaſy; for I may be ſurprized in profound ſilence. I muſt ſuppoſe things in the ſituation they were in before, and as they ought ſtill to continue; in ſhort, I muſt ſee what I really do not. Thus being forced to give a ſcope to my imagination, I quickly ceaſe to have it under my command; and the means I have uſed to quiet my mind, only contribute the more to alarm me. If I hear a noiſe, robbers are a coming; if I hear none, I ſee ſprights; the care of my preſervation keeps me awake, and is only a ſubject of fear. My reaſon bids me have a good heart; but inſtinct is ſtronger, and ſpeaks to me in a different manner. What ſignifies it to believe that I have nothing to fear, if at that time I have nothing to do?

The diſcovery of the cauſe of the diſeaſe, points out the remedy. In all ſubjects whatever, habit makes the imagination flag; nothing but new objects can revive it. In regard to thoſe which we behold every day, it is not the fancy, but the memory that acts; and this is the reaſon of the common axiom, *ab aſſuetis non fit paſſio*, for the paſſions are kindled only by fancy's fire. Do not therefore reaſon with a perſon, from whom you would remove the horrors of darkneſs; lead him often into it, and you may be ſure that this will be a better remedy, than all the arguments of philoſophers. Bricklayers and ſlaters do not find their

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their heads reel on the tops of houſes; neither have people any fear in the dark, whom cuſtom has inured to it.

This is ſtill another advantage, in favour of nocturnal amuſements; to render theſe of any uſe, they muſt be attended with mirth and gaiety. Nothing is ſo diſmal as darkneſs; do not therefore immure your child in a dungeon. Let him laugh, when he is entering a dark place; let him reſume his laughter, when coming out of it; and whilſt he is there, let the idea of the amuſements he has left behind him, and of thoſe he is going to enjoy, defend him againſt thoſe airy phantoms, which might come to interrupt his diverſion.

There is a ſtage of life, at which we begin to go retrograde, even in advancing. I am ſenſible I have paſſed that ſtage: I am entering as it were upon another career. Now I am advanced in life, the hours which lie heavy upon my hands, remind me of the pleaſures I taſted in my youthful days. As I wax old, I become once more a child, and am better pleaſed, with recollecting what I did at ten, than at thirty years of age. Reader, thou wilt therefore excuſe my drawing a few examples from myſelf; for to write this book as I ought, I muſt be pleaſed with my labour.

I boarded at a country clergyman's, whoſe name was M. Lambercier. There was another boarder in the ſame family, a couſin of mine, of a much better fortune than I, and reſpected as a ſon and heir; for my part, being at a diſtance from my father, I was looked upon as a poor orphan. My couſin Bernard was an errant coward, eſpecially in the night. I made myſelf ſo merry with his frights, that M. Lambercier became tired of my vaunting, and reſolved to put my courage to the proof. Accordingly, one night in the autumn, when it was very dark, he gave me the key of the church-door, and bad me look out for a Bible, which had been left in the pulpit. In order to ſpur me on,

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he dropped ſome words about my honour, which rendered it impoſſible for me to recede.

I ſet off without a light, and even if I had taken one, perhaps it would have been ſo much the worſe. I was obliged to paſs through the church-yard; I did it gallantly; for ſo long as I was in the open air, I never felt any nocturnal apprehenſions.

In unlocking the church-door, I heard a kind of echo from the roof, which methought reſembled a human voice, and began to ſtagger my Roman intrepidity. The door being opened, I went in; but ſcarce had I advanced a few paces, when I ſtopt ſhort. Obſerving the great obſcurity, with which this ſpacious building was overſpread, I was ſeized with ſuch a panic, as made my hair ſtand on end; upon this I drew back, and ran trembling out of the church. In the court-yard I met a little dog, called Sultan, whoſe careſſes revived my ſpirits. Aſhamed of my flight, I turned back, endeavouring to bring Sultan along with me, but he would not follow. I opened the door very briſkly, and entered the church. But no ſooner was I got in, than I was ſeized again with ſuch a fright, that I almoſt loſt my ſenſes; for though the pulpit was on the right hand, and I knew it very well, yet having turned about unknown to me, I groped for it a long time to the left; I entangled myſelf among the benches, and knew not any longer whereabouts I was; and not being able to find either the pulpit or the door, I was utterly at a loſs how to behave. At length I reached the door, and got out of the church, fully determined never to enter it again by myſelf, but in the open day.

I came back as far as the houſe. Juſt as I was going in, I diſtinguiſhed the voice of Mr. Lambercier, by a loud fit of laughter. I concluded he was making merry with my adventure, and being aſhamed of what had happened, I heſitated ſome time before I opened the door. During this interval, I overheard Miſs Lambercier expreſſing great uneaſineſs about me,

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and bidding the ſervant to take the lanthorn; at the ſame time I could perceive, that Mr. Lambercier was preparing to come and fetch me himſelf, eſcorted by my intrepid couſin, who would aſſuredly have obtained the whole honour of this expedition. Inſtantly all my terror ſubſided, except that of being overtaken before I reached the church; I flew back, and without loſing my way, and without groping, I reached the pulpit, went up, and took the Bible: I darted myſelf down like lightning, and in two or three ſtrides I was out of the church, the door of which I even forgot to ſhut; then entering the room, quite out of breath, I flung the Bible on the table, quite ſcared and aghaſt; yet my heart beating with joy, for having prevented the ſuccour intended me.

I ſhall be aſked, whether I have drawn this ſketch as a model for imitation, and as an example of the alacrity I require in this ſort of exerciſe? not at all; but I give it only as a proof, that nothing is more apt to encourage a perſon who is afraid of darkneſs, than to hear a chearful company in a neighbouring apartment. I ſhould be glad, if inſtead of amuſing yourſelf with your pupil only, a number of goodnatured children were aſſembled together every evening; and not ſent into the dark at firſt ſeparately, but in company; nor any of them ventured abſolutely alone, till you are perfectly aſſured beforehand, that they will not be frightened.

I cannot think of any thing ſo pleaſant and ſo uſeful, as thoſe entertainments, provided they are properly managed. I ſhould form a kind of labyrinth in a large hall, with tables, chairs, and ſcreens. Amidſt the windings of this labyrinth, I ſhould put eight or ten empty boxes, and another as like as poſſible, filled with ſweetmeats; I ſhould deſcribe in conciſe, but plain terms, the place where the box of ſweetmeats lay; I ſhould give ſuch a direction, as would enable perſons, more attentive and leſs giddy

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than children, to find it out (21); then making the little rivals draw lots, I would ſend them all ſucceſſively, till the valuable box was found, the difficulty of which I ſhould take care to increaſe, in proportion o their dexterity.

Imagine to yourſelf a young Hercules returning with the box in his hand, quite proud of his expedition. The box is ſet upon the table, and opened with great ceremony. I hear loud peals of laughter, the ſhouts of the joyous little band; when, inſtead of the dainties they expected, they find nothing but a May-bug, a ſnail, a bit of coal, an acorn, a turnip, or ſome ſuch thing, laid in great order upon moſs or cotton. At other times, you may hang up ſome toy, or other, upon a part of the wall that has been newly white-waſhed; and bid them fetch it, without touching the wall. The boy that brings it, if he has failed in the condition, will immediately betray his want of dexterity, by a white ſpot on the top of his hat, on his ſhoe toe, on the ſkirt of his coat, or his ſleeve. This is ſufficient, and perhaps more than ſufficient, to convey an idea of this ſort of amuſement. If I muſt tell you all, I would not adviſe you to read this work.

How great the advantages, which a perſon educated in this manner, will have over others? His feet being accuſtomed to tread firm in the dark, and his hands exerciſed in the contact of all the ſurrounding bodies, he will penetrate with eaſe into the thickeſt obſcurity. His imagination being full of the nocturnal ſports of his youth, will not receive any impreſſion of terror. If he thinks he hears loud fits of laughter, inſtead of imputing them to ſpirits or hob-goblins, he will ſuppoſe them to come from ſuch as his former companions; if his fancy runs upon an aſſembly, it will not

(21) In order to exerciſe their attention, never talk to them of any thing, but what they have a preſent intereſt to hear; eſpecially avoid all prolixity; ſpeak not an idle word. On the other hand, let your diſcourſe be clear of all obſcurity and equivocation.

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be a nocturnal meeting of witches, but that in his governor's apartment. As the night will revive none but chearful ideas in his mind, it will not be a ſubject of horror to him; inſtead of dreading, he will wiſh for it. If he is called upon to engage in a military expedition, he is ready at any hour, either by himſelf, or with his corps. He will enter the camp of Saul, and traverſe it without miſtaking his way; he will penetrate to the king's tent, without diſturbing any body, and return unperceived. If you want to carry off Rheſus's horſes, apply to him, and he will do your buſineſs. Among perſons educated in a different manner, it will be difficult to find an Ulyſſes.

I have ſeen people, who endeavoured to accuſtom children to be afraid of nothing in the night, by coming upon them unawares. This is a very bad expedient, and productive of an effect quite contrary to that intended, for it only renders them more timorous. Neither reaſon nor habit are capable of making a perſon eaſy in regard to preſent danger, with the degree and ſpecies of which he is wholly unacquainted: nor with reſpect to a ſurprize, the effect of which he has often experienced. Yet, how are you to guard your pupil againſt the like accidents? The beſt advice, I think, that could be given him on that ſubject, would be as follows. You are then, I ſhould ſay to my Emilius, in the caſe of a juſt defence; for the aggreſſor does not ſuffer you to judge, whether he intends you good or harm; and as he has taken his advantages, you are not even ſafe by flight. Therefore you muſt pluck up your courage, and be ſure to ſeize the perſon, who ſurprizes you in the night, whoever he be, it does not ſignify; hold him faſt; and if he offers to ſtir, pummel him well, be not ſparing of your blows, and let him ſay or do whatever he will, do not let go your hold, till you know who he is: the diſcovery will probably inform you, that you had no great reaſon to be afraid; and this

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manner of treating your wags, will naturally prevent them from repeating the joke.

Notwithſtanding the touch is of all our ſenſes applied to moſt frequent uſe, yet its deciſions, as I have already obſerved, are the moſt rude and imperfect; the reaſon of this is, we conſtantly intermix it with the ſenſation of ſight, and as the eye reaches its object quicker than the hand, the mind generally forms its judgment, independently of the latter. But to make amends for this, the determinations of the touch are more certain, by reaſon that they are more confined; for as they do not extend ſo far as the hand, they rectify the blunders of the other ſenſes, which fly at diſtant objects, that are ſcarely perceptible, whereas the perceptions of the touch are all performed with certainty. Beſides, if we pleaſe to add the muſcular force to the action of the nerves, we ſhall unite, by means of a ſimultaneous ſenſation, the judgment of weight and ſolidity to that of temperature, magnitude, and figure. Thus the touch, being the moſt inſtructive of all the ſenſes, in regard to the impreſſion, which extraneous bodies are capable of making on ours, its ſenſations are of moſt frequent uſe, and more immediately convey to us the knowledge neceſſary for our preſervation.

As the exerciſe of the touch ſupplies the ſenſation of ſeeing, why ſhould it not likewiſe ſerve inſtead of that of hearing, at leaſt to a certain degree, ſince ſounds excite vibrations, ſenſible to the touch, in ſonorous bodies? Laying your hand on the body of a violoncello, you may diſtinguiſh, without the aid either of the eye, or of the ear, only by the manner of the vibration, whether the ſound the wood produces be grave or acute, whether it comes from the treble ſtring or the baſe. Let the ſenſes be accuſtomed to theſe differences, and I make no doubt but in time we may acquire ſo exquiſite a touch, as to diſtinguiſh an entire air by your fingers. Now this being ſuppoſed, it is very clear you may converſe with

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with a deaf man by muſic; for the ſounds and times being no leſs ſuſceptible of regular combinations than articulate words, they may be taken in like manner for the elements of ſpeech.

There are ſome exerciſes which take off the edge of the touch, and render that ſenſe more obtuſe; others, on the contrary, give it a ſharpneſs, by which it becomes more fine and delicate. The former, adding a great deal of motion and force to the continual impreſſion of hard bodies, render the ſkin rough and callous, and diminiſh the natural feeling: the latter, are ſuch as vary this ſame ſenſation, by a frequent and gentle contact, in ſuch a manner, that the mind, attentive to the impreſſions inceſſantly repeated, acquires the facility of judging of their ſeveral modifications. This difference is very ſenſible in the uſe of muſical inſtruments: the rough touch of the violoncello, of the counter-baſe, or even of the violin, hardens the fingers ends, though it renders them more pliant. The ſmooth touch of the harpſichord, renders them equally ſupple, and more ſenſible at the ſame time; and therefore deſerves the preference of the other.

The ſkin ſhould be inured to the impreſſions of the air, and be able to bid defiance to every alteration of weather; for it is that which defends all the reſt of the body. Except in this caſe, I would not have the hand become hardened, by being too ſervilely applied to the ſame kind of labour, nor the ſkin, by growing callous, loſe that exquiſite ſenſation, which lets us know what are the bodies over which it paſſes, and, according to the particular kind of contact, ſometimes diſtinguiſhes by the ſlighteſt touch in the dark.

Why ſhould my pupil be always obliged to cover his feet with the hide of an ox? Where would be the harm, if he were to make uſe of his own ſkin, in caſe of neceſſity? It is beyond all doubt, that the delicacy of the ſkin, in this part of the body, can be of no man-

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ner of ſervice, and may often prove very prejudicial. When the inhabitants of Geneva were rouſed in the dead of a winter-night, by the alarm of the enemy, who had ſcaled the walls of the town, they found their muſkets much ſooner than their ſhoes. If they had not been able to walk barefoot, who knows but Geneva would have been taken?

Let man be always armed againſt unforeſeen accidents. Let Emilius run about in the morning with his naked feet, at all ſeaſons within doors, and in the garden; ſo far from rebuking him for it, I ſhall imitate his example, only I will take care to keep bits of broken glaſs out of his way. I ſhall preſently have occaſion to treat of his manual labour and diverſions; as for the reſt, let him learn to take every ſtep that is capable of favouring the different evolutions of the body; let him throw himſelf into all the attitudes, conſiſtent with an eaſy and firm poſition; let him know how to leap and jump, to climb up a tree, to get over a wall; let him always be maſter of his equilibrium; let all his motions and geſtures be regulated by the laws of gravity, long before he knows any thing of ſtatics. By the manner of reſting his foot on the ground, or his body on his leg, he ought to feel whether it be well or ill placed. A firm tread is ever graceful; and the moſt ſteady poſtures are alſo the moſt elegant. Were I a dancing-maſter, I ſhould not run into all the monkey's tricks of Marcel (22), which may do well enough for the country where he performs them; but inſtead of employing

(22) A celebrated dancing-maſter at Paris, who knowing the people he had to deal with, over-acted his part, with a crafty deſign; and raiſed his art to a degree of importance, which ſome people pretended to find ridiculous, though in the main he was greatly reſpected for it. There is another inſtance of the like kind in a profeſſion, equally frivolous; we ſee a comedian affecting importance, and acting the fool, and the ſcheme has ſucceeded. This method is ſure to do in France. Real abilities, with more ſimplicity and leſs aſſurance, ſtand no chance of making a fortune. Modeſty there is a virtue fit only for fools.

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my pupil inceſſantly in cutting capers, I ſhould lead him to the foot of a rock; there I would ſhew him what attitude he was to take, how he was to bear his body, and how to hold his head, what movement he was to make, in what manner he was to fix, now his foot, and now his hand, in order to ſkip along the craggy paths, and to leap from one peak to another, now mounting, now deſcending. I ſhould rather make him emulate a roe-buck, than a dancer at the opera.

The touch confines its operations to the circumference of the individual; but the ſight extends its ſenſations to a far wider compaſs. This is what renders the latter ſo liable to deception; for with a ſingle glance, a man takes in one half of the horizon. In this great variety of ſimultaneous ſenſations, and of judgments excited by thoſe ſenſations, how is it poſſible not to be ſometimes miſtaken? The ſight, therefore, is the moſt defective of all our ſenſes, merely from its being the moſt extenſive; and as it conſiderably precedes all the reſt, its perceptions are too quick, and too extenſive, for them to rectify. Beſides, we have need of the very deceptions of perſpective, to come at the knowledge of extenſion, and to compare its parts. Were it not for falſe appearances, we ſhould ſee no deepnings in painting; were it not for the gradations of magnitude and ſhade, we ſhould not be able to eſtimate any diſtance, or rather, there would be no diſtance in regard to us. Take two trees of equal ſize, if one of them a hundred yards diſtant, ſhould appear as large and as diſtinct as the other, which is only at the diſtance of ten yards, we ſhould place them ſide by ſide. Were we to perceive all objects, according to their real dimenſions, we ſhould diſtinguiſh no ſpace at all, and every thing would appear to be juſt under our eye.

To judge of the magnitude and diſtance of objects, the ſenſe of ſeeing has but one meaſure, namely, the angle they form in the eye; and as this is a ſimple effect of a compound cauſe, the judgment it induces

induces us to make, leaves each particular cauſe undetermined, or muſt needs be defective. For how ſhall I be able to diſtinguiſh by the eye, whether the angle, which makes me ſee one object ſmaller than the other, proceeds from this firſt object being really ſmaller, or from its being at a greater diſtance?

We muſt therefore, on this occaſion, purſue a method quite contrary to the foregoing; inſtead of making uſe of a ſingle ſenſation, we ſhould unite them; we ſhould aſcertain the one by the other; we ſhould ſubmit the viſual to the tactile organ; and in ſome meaſure check the impetuoſity of the former, by the ſlow, regular pace of the latter. For want of adhering to this rule, our eſtimates are very inaccurate. We have no preciſion in the glance of an eye, to judge of heights, lengths, depths, or diſtances; and a proof, that it is not ſo much a defect of the organ, as of its uſe, is that land ſurveyors, architects, maſons, painters, form in general a much better judgment by the eye than we, and eſtimate the meaſures of extenſion more exactly. The reaſon is, by the exerciſe of their profeſſion, they acquire an experience, which we neglect to attain; and thus they are enabled to remove the ambiguity of the angle, by the appearances attending it, which determine the relation of the two cauſes of that angle, in regard to them, with greater exactneſs.

Children eaſily engage in whatever ſets the body in motion without conſtraint. There are a thouſand ways, by which you may prevail on them to meaſure, to know, and to eſtimate diſtances. Yonder is a very high cherry-tree, how ſhall we do to gather the fruit? Will the ladder in the barn do? I behold a very large ſtream, how ſhall we contrive to get over it? Will one of the planks in the court do to lay a-croſs it? We want to fiſh out of our windows, in the moat ſurrounding the houſe; of what length muſt our line be? I ſhould be glad to put up a

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ſwinging-cord between thoſe two trees; how many yards will it require? I was told, that in the other houſe, our apartment will be five and twenty feet ſquare; do you think that will do? Will it be larger than this? We are very hungry, yonder are two villages, which of them ſhall we reach the ſooneſt, to get a dinner? &c.

I once had occaſion to inculcate the practice of running, to an indolent youth, who was inclined neither to this, nor to any other exerciſe, though he had been deſigned for the army: he was perſuaded, by ſome means or other, that a perſon of his rank and fortune ought neither to know nor to do any thing, and that his noble birth was to ſerve him inſtead of arms, and legs, as well as every kind of merit. To make ſuch a young gentleman a ſwift-footed Achilles, even the ability of Chiron would have ſcarce ſufficed. The difficulty was ſo much the greater, as I would abſolutely lay him under no reſtraint. I had deprived myſelf of the right of exhortation, of promiſes, emulation, and the ambition of making a figure: how then ſhould I be able to excite him to run, without ſaying a word? to run myſelf, would not have been ſo ſure a way, and moreover, would have been attended with inconveniency. Beſides, I had in view to render this exerciſe a matter of inſtruction to him, to the end that the operations of the body might go hand in hand with thoſe of the mind. I will ſhew you the method I followed.

As I generally went out a walking with him in the afternoon, I ſometimes put into my pocket a couple of cakes, of a particular ſort, which he was vaſtly fond of; we eat each of us our cake, during the walk (23), and returned very well ſatisfied. One day, perceiving I had three cakes, (he could have made a ſhift

(23) A walk in the fields, as you will preſently ſee. The publick walks in great towns are dangerous to children of both ſexes. There they learn to be vain, and to deſire being taken notice

ſhift to eat ſix of them, without any inconvenience; he diſpatched his work with the utmoſt expedition, in order to aſk me for the third. No, ſaid I, I ſhould like to eat it myſelf, or we might ſhare it between us; but I had much rather, that thoſe two little boys you ſee yonder were to run a race for it. I called them to us, ſhewed them the cake, and propoſed the condition. They deſired nothing better. The cake was laid on a large ſtone, which ſerved for the goal. The career was marked; we went, and ſat down, and, at a ſignal given, the boys ſet off: the victor ſeized the cake, and devoured it without mercy, in the preſence of the ſpectators and his competitor.

This amuſement was much better than the cake, but did not take at firſt. Yet I was not diſcouraged; nor did I grow impatient; the educating of children is a profeſſion, in which you muſt have the ſkill to loſe time, in order to gain it. As we continued our walks, I often put three cakes into my pocket, ſometimes four, and now and then there was one, nay ſometimes two, for the runners. If the prize were not conſiderable, thoſe who contended for it would not be ambitious; the boy who won it was clapped and huzza'd; and every thing went on in great order. To occaſion ſome variety, and to render the contention more intereſting, I chalked out a longer courſe, and admitted ſeveral competitors. No ſooner were they entered the liſt, than the different people, who happened to be paſſing that way, ſtopped to ſee them; by loud ſhouts and clapping of hands, they were ſpurred on; and now and then I ſaw my young gentleman ſtart, and riſe up, nay make a loud ſhout, when one of the boys was ready to overtake, or to outrun the other; in

notice of; it is in the gardens of Luxembourg, of the Thuilleries, and eſpecially in thoſe of Palais Royal, that the young people in Paris acquire thoſe foppiſh and impertinent airs, which render them ſo ridiculous, and contemptible to all Europe.

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ſhort, it ſeemed to him, as if he were aſſiſting at the Olympic games.

But the contenders had ſometimes recourſe to foul play; they would hold one another, or do ſomething to ſupplant their antagoniſt, by putting ſtones, or ſome other ſtumbling-block, in each other's way. This afforded me a juſt pretence to ſeparate them, and to make them ſet out from different ſtarting-places, though equally diſtant from the goal. The reader will preſently ſee into the reaſon of this precaution; for I muſt enter into every particular, in treating of this important affair.

Tired at length of being witneſs to ſuch a conſumption of cakes, for which he had ſo great an inclination himſelf, my young maſter began to ſurmize, that to be ſwift-footed might be of ſome advantage: and ſeeing that he had two legs, as well as other boys, he began to make an eſſay in private. I pretended not to obſerve him in the leaſt; but found that my ſtratagem had ſucceeded. When he thought himſelf able to carry his point (and I perceived his drift, even before he knew it himſelf) he affected to importune me for the cake that was left. I refuſed to give it; he inſiſted upon it; and at length he ſaid to me, in a pet, Well then, put it on the ſtone, mark the ground, and we ſhall ſee..... So! ſaid I ſmiling, does ſuch a gentleman as you know how to run? You will only get a greater appetite, but nothing to ſatisfy it. Piqued at my raillery, he laboured hard, and won the prize, ſo much the more eaſily, as I had ſhortened the liſt, and taken care to keep the beſt runner out of the way. This firſt ſtep having ſucceeded, you may eaſily judge I found no difficulty in keeping him in play. He ſoon took ſo great a liking to this exerciſe, that, all favour apart, he was almoſt ſure to beat my blackguard boys at running, how long ſoever the career.

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The obtaining of this advantage produced another, which had never entered my thoughts. When he obtained the prize but ſeldom, he eat it generally by himſelf, in the ſame manner as his rivals; but, by frequent victories, he became generous, and often divided the ſpoils among the vanquiſhed. This afforded me a moral obſervation, and thereby I learned the true principle of generoſity.

As I continued to mark the ſtarting-places, on different ſpots of ground, I made the diſtances unequal, unknown to him; ſo that the boy who had a longer ſpace to run, lay under a viſible diſadvantage: but though I let my pupil take his choice, he never knew how to avail himſelf of this favourable circumſtance. Without troubling his head about the diſtance, he always preferred the ſmoothest way; ſo that I had it in my power to make him either win or loſe the prize, juſt as I pleaſed; an artifice which proved conducive to more ends than one. Nevertheleſs, as I intended he ſhould perceive the difference, I endeavoured to make him ſenſible of it; but, though ſo indolent at other times, he was ſo vivacious in his ſports, and had ſo little diffidence of me, that I had all the difficulty in the world to make him perceive I tricked him. At length I compaſſed it, notwithſtanding all his giddineſs: and he reproached me with it. I made anſwer, "What reaſon have you to complain? In making you a preſent, am not I at liberty "to annex what conditions I pleaſe to it? Who compels you to run? Did I ever promiſe you, that the "ground ſhould be equal? Have not you your "choice? Take the ſhorteſt, no body hinders you: "but do not you perceive, that it is you I favour; "and that the inequality you complain of, is entirely "to your advantage, if you know how to make "uſe of it?" This was very clear; he could not but underſtand it; and to make a choice of the ground, he was obliged to look more narrowly into it. At firſt he would fain meaſure it by paces; but this

this ſort of meaſure among children is not only tedious, but vaſtly defective; beſides, I bethought myſelf of multiplying the races the ſame day, and then the amuſement becoming a kind of paſſion, he was ſorry to loſe that time in meaſuring the ground, which had been intended for performing the courſe. The vivacity of boys does not at all agree with ſuch delays: he exerciſed himſelf in taking a better ſurvey, and making a better eſtimate of the diſtance by the eye. I had very little difficulty then to continue, and to improve this taſte. At length, after a few months experiment, during which he corrected ſome of his errors, he became ſo perfect in his viſual eſtimate, that whenever I talked to him of placing a cake on ſome diſtant object, he was almoſt as ſure at one glance of an eye, as a ſurveyor by his chain.

The ſight being, of all the ſenſes, that from which the judgments of the mind are leſs capable of being ſeparated, a great deal of time is requiſite to learn that perception; the ſenſe of ſeeing muſt have been long compared to that of feeling, in order to accuſtom the former to make an exact report of figures and diſtances: without the touch, or progreſſive motion, the moſt piercing eye whatever would never be able to give us an idea of extenſion. The whole univerſe would be only a point in regard to an oyſter; neither would it appear any thing larger to that oyſter, were it even to be animated by an human ſoul. It is merely by dint of walking, feeling, reckoning, meaſuring, that we learn to eſtimate dimenſions. But if we were always to take meaſure, the organ depending on the inſtrument would acquire no juſtneſs of perception. Neither muſt the child make a ſudden tranſition from meaſure to eſtimation; he ſhould continue to compare by parts what he is incapable of comparing all together; then to exact aliquot parts, let him ſubſtitute others formed by eſtimation; and, inſtead of always applying the meaſure with his hand, he muſt uſe himſelf to apply it only by the eye. I ſhould be pleaſed

pleaſed that his firſt operations were aſcertained by real admeaſurement, to the end that he might be corrected of his errors, and if any falſe appearance ſtill remained in the organ, he ſhould learn to rectify it by his judgment. There are natural meaſures, which are much the ſame in all places; as a man's pace or ſtep, the extent of his arms, or his ſtature, &c. When a child eſtimates the height of a floor, his governor may ſerve him for a fathom; if he eſtimates a ſteeple, he will ſettle the height by the rate or proportion of the houſes. If he wants to know how many leagues it is to a place, let him reckon the hours in walking it; and take particular care, that nothing of all this ſhall be done for him by others, but let him do it himſelf.

A man cannot learn to form a right judgment of the extenſion and magnitude of bodies, without acquiring at the ſame time a knowledge of their figures, and even without learning to imitate them: for, in the main, this imitation abſolutely depends on the rules of perſpective only, and it is impoſſible to eſtimate an extenſion from its appearances, without having ſome notion of thoſe rules. Children are great imitators, and therefore they all endeavour to draw; I ſhould be pleaſed that my pupil learned this art, not merely on account of the art itſelf, but to acquire a good eye and a ſupple hand: in general, it is of very little importance, whether he knows ſuch a particular exerciſe, provided he acquires that perſpicacity of underſtanding, and agility of body, for which that exerciſe is intended. I ſhould therefore take care not to let him have a drawing-maſter, that would give him only copies to imitate, and not let him deſign from originals; I inſiſt upon his having no other maſter than nature, and no other model than the real objects. I am reſolved he ſhall have his eye on the very original, and not on the paper that repreſents it; he ſhall ſketch a houſe from a real houſe, a tree from a tree, a human figure from a man,

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man, to the end that he may use himself to make a careful survey of bodies, and of their different appearances, and not to mistake false copies for real imitations. I shall even dissuade him from drawing any sketch by memory, during the absence of the objects, till, by frequent observation, their exact figures are strongly imprinted in his imagination: lest he should happen to substitute odd fantastical forms for the true representation of things, and lose all knowledge of proportions, together with every relish of the beauties of nature.

I am not ignorant, that proceeding in this manner, he will long be a dawber, without performing any thing worthy of notice; that it will be some time before he learns the elegance of contours, and the delicate touch of the master; perhaps he never will attain the faculty of discerning the effects of colours, or the true taste for design. But, on the other hand, he will certainly acquire a nicer eye, a steadier hand, a knowledge of the true relations of magnitude and figure between animals, plants, and natural bodies; and a much quicker experience of the deception of perspective. This is exactly the thing I wanted; my intention being not so much that he should know how to imitate, as to distinguish the objects; I had much rather he shewed me the herb bear's foot, than give an elegant drawing of the foliage of a capital.

In this, however, as in every other exercise, I do not pretend, that my pupil should enjoy it all to himself. I would render it still more agreeable to him, by participating with him every time. I am not for his having any other rival but myself; but I intend to be constantly his rival, and without relaxation or risk; this will be an encouragement to his studies, without occasioning any jealousy betwixt us. I shall take the crayon just as he did, and use it at first in as bungling a manner as he. Though I were an Apelles, I shall shew myself a mere

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dawber. I ſhall begin with ſketching out the figure of a man, exactly like the dawbing of a ſchool-boy againſt a wall; a bar for each leg and arm, and the fingers thicker than the arm. After ſome time is elapſed, we ſhall both of us perceive this diſproportion; and obſerve that a leg has ſome thickneſs, that this thickneſs is not throughout the ſame; that the arm has its determined length, in regard to the body, &c. During this courſe, I ſhall keep cloſe by my Emilius; or, if I get the ſtart of him, the difference ſhall be ſo inconſiderable, that he will always find it an eaſy matter to overtake, and often to ſurpaſs me. Being provided with colours and pencils, we ſhall endeavour to imitate the colouring of objects, with their whole appearance, as well as their make and figure; we ſhall colour, paint, and dawb; but, even in our dawbings, we ſhall copy from nature, and conſtantly act under the eye of that accurate maſter.

We were at ſome loſs for want of ornaments to our rooms, and now we have found plenty. I order our drawings to be framed, and handſomely glazed, to the end that they may be retouched no more, and ſeeing them remain in the ſituation we left them, each of us may be engaged to finiſh his with the utmoſt preciſion. I hang them in order round the room, each deſign repeated twenty or thirty times, and each copy ſhewing the progreſs of the author, from the firſt ſketch of a ſhapeleſs front, to the draught of the elevation, when its front, its profile, its ſhades, are all in the exacteſt proportion. The deſigns in theſe different gradations muſt be intereſting to ourſelves, entertaining to others, and a ſure means to excite our emulation. The firſt, that is, the coarſeſt of theſe deſigns, I ſhall put into gilt frames, capable of ſetting them off with the higheſt luſtre; but when the imitation becomes more exact, and the deſign is really good, I ſhall only be at the expence of a black fraime; for it needs no other ornament than itſelf; and it would be a pity that the richneſs

ſickneſs of the bordering ſhould divide the attention deſerved by the object. Thus we both aſpire to the honour of a plain bordering; and when one of us has a mind to undervalue the other's drawing, he condemns it to a frame beautifully gilt. Some day or other perhaps thoſe frames will become proverbial; and we ſhall be ſurprized at the great number of men, who do this juſtice to themſelves, by embelliſhing their works with ſuch pompous ornaments.

I obſerved that geometry was not ſuited to the capacity of children; but it is our own fault. We do not perceive, that their method and ours are different; and that what becomes the art of reaſoning in regard to us, ſhould be, with reſpect to them, the art of ſeeing. Inſtead of giving them our method, it would be much better for us to adopt theirs; for our manner of learning geometry depends as much on fancy as on reaſon. When once the propoſition is laid down, we imagine the demonſtration; that is, we endeavour to find from what propoſition already known the other is inferred; and out of all the conſequences that may be drawn from ſuch a propoſition, we muſt pitch upon that exactly in queſtion.

In this manner, even the ſtricteſt reaſoner, unleſs he be a man of invention, muſt ſtop ſhort. And what follows? Inſtead of teaching us to inveſtigate the demonſtrations, the maſter dictates them to us; inſtead of making us learn to reaſon, he reaſons for us, and only exerciſes our memory.

Make your figures exact, combine, and place them one upon another; examine their relations, and you will find out the whole of elementary geometry, by proceeding from one obſervation to another, without minding definitions or problems, or any other theoretic forms of demonſtration. For my part, I do not pretend, that my Emilius ſhall learn geometry of me, but I of him; I ſhall look out for the relations, and he will find them; which he may do from my manner of inveſtigation. For in-

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ſtance, inſtead of making uſe of a compaſs to draw a circle, I ſhall mark it with the end of a thread turning on a pivot. After this, when I want to compare the radii to one another, Emilius will laugh at me, and give me to underſtand that the ſame thread, always extended, cannot trace unequal diſtances.

If I want to meaſure an angle of ſixty degrees, I deſcribe not a ſegment only, but an entire circle; for with children, we are never to ſuppoſe any thing. I find, that the ſegment bounded by the two ſides of the angle, is the ſixth part of the circle. After this, keeping to the ſame center, I deſcribe another circle much larger, and I find that this ſecond ſegment is alſo the ſixth part of its circle: I deſcribe a third concentric circle, and ſo go on with others, meaſuring the angle on each, till Emilius, amazed at my ſtupidity, informs me, that whether the arch be large or ſmall, the ſame angle will always be the ſixth part of a circle, &c. You ſee we are almoſt arrived at the uſe of the protractor.

To prove that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, it is uſual to deſcribe a circle; on the contrary, I take care that Emilius ſhall obſerve this, firſt of all, in the circle itſelf, and then I aſk him, whether, if the circle were taken away, and the right lines were permitted to ſtand, the angles would remain ſtill the ſame.

The preſent cuſtom is to neglect the nicety of figures; they ſuppoſe it in the demonſtration. On the contrary, my pupil and I ſhould never concern ourſelves about demonſtrations. Our principal buſineſs would be to draw lines, very exact and uniform; to make a perfect ſquare, or a very round circle. To prove the exactneſs of the figure, we ſhould examine it by all its ſenſible properties, and this would afford us an opportunity of making new diſcoveries every day. We ſhould fold the two halves of a circle in the line of its diameter, and thoſe of a ſquare in that

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of its diagonal; we ſhould compare our two figures, and ſee whether there be an exact equality in the circle and ſquare thus folded; we ſhould diſpute whether this equality obtained alſo in parallelograms, trapeziums, &c. We ſhould endeavour ſome times to judge of the ſucceſs of the experiment before we made it; attempt to find the reaſons, &c.

Geometry, in regard to my pupil, is only the art of making uſe of ſcale and compaſs; it ſhould not be confounded with the art of deſign, where he ought to uſe neither of thoſe inſtruments. The ſcale and compaſs ſhould be kept under lock and key, and Emilius ſhould be allowed them but very ſeldom, and only for a ſhort time, to the end that he may not accuſtom himſelf to dawbing; but we may ſometimes take our ſketches with us, when we go abroad, and we may enter into a converſation concerning our preſent or future improvements.

I remember to have ſeen a youth at Turin, who in his infancy had been taught the relations of outlines and ſurfaces, by having cakes ſet before him every day, cut into all ſorts of geometrical figures. The little epicure had exhauſted the art of Archimedes, to find which of thoſe figures contained the greateſt quantity.

When a child plays at ſhuttle-cock, he accuſtoms both his eye and his arm to exactneſs; when he whips a top, he grows more robuſt by the exertion of his ſtrength; but makes no other improvement. I have ſometimes aſked the reaſon, why children were not made to learn games of ſkill and addreſs, as well as men, for example, tennis, fives, billiards, the bow, foot-ball, and muſic. The anſwer given me was, that ſome of thoſe games were above their ſtrength, and that neither their limbs nor organs were ſufficiently formed for the reſt. Theſe reaſons I can by no means approve: though a child differs in ſize from a man, yet the make of his cloaths is not different. I do not mean, that he ſhould play with a large maſs,

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and at a billiard-table three feet high; nor that he ſhould make a party at our tennis-courts, or overload his little arm with a great heavy racket; but let him play in the hall, after ſecuring the windows; let him uſe only ſoft balls, and let his rackets be firſt of wood, then of parchment, and at length of cat-gut, according to his improvement in ſtrength. You prefer the ſhuttle-cock, becauſe it is leſs fatiguing and dangerous. But you are miſtaken for both thoſe reaſons. Shuttle-cock is mere women's play; there is not one of them all, but would be frightened by the motion of a tennis-ball; their delicate ſkin ought not to be hardened by blows; nor their amiable faces to be disfigured by contuſions. But can we, who are formed for vigour and activity, imagine they are to be attained without trouble; and what defence ſhall we be capable of making, if we are never attacked? People ſeldom play with any ſpirit, when they can be faulty without riſk; if a ſhuttle-cock falls to the ground, it hurts no body; but nothing makes the arm ſo pliant, as to be obliged to cover the head with it; nothing renders the eye ſo nice and exact, as to be under a neceſſity of guarding it from harm. To ſpring from one end of the hall to the other, to judge of the rebound of a ball while in the air; to return it with a ſure and ſteady arm; ſuch diverſions as theſe are leſs proper for men, than to give them ſtrength and vigour while young.

The fibres of a child, you will ſay, are too tender; it is true, they are not ſo elaſtic, but they are more pliant; his arm is feeble, but it is an arm; he ought to apply it in proportion to every uſe that the like machine is applied to. Children have no dexterity in their hands and arms; and, for this reaſon, I would have them acquire ſome; were a man to have no more exerciſe than they, he would have as little addreſs; we cannot know the power of our organs, till we have uſed them. Long experience alone is capable of ſhewing us how to apply our powers to

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the beſt advantage; and this experience is a real ſtudy, into which we cannot be too quickly initiated.

Inſtances of a fact are a plain indication of its being practicable. Now nothing is more common than to ſee ſprightly children move their limbs with the ſame agility as men. In moſt fairs there are boys expert at equilibration, that walk upon their hands, that leap, or dance upon a rope. What a number of nights the playhouſe was crowded, to ſee the performances of the children at the Italian comedy? Who has not heard of the pantomimic company of the celebrated Nicolini? Was it ever obſerved, that thoſe children were leſs eaſy in their movements, leſs graceful in their attitudes, leſs true and exact in their ear, in ſhort, leſs ſkilled in their art, than the moſt accompliſhed dancers? The hands of children are generally plump, and their fingers thick and ſhort, ſo as to be ſtiff in their motion, and unfit to graſp any thing; yet does this hinder them from writing and drawing at an age, when others know not how to hold a crayon or a pen? Does not the whole town of Paris ſtill remember the little Engliſh girl, who, at ten years of age, performed ſuch wonders on the harpſichord. I have been preſent at a magiſtrate's houſe, when his ſon, a little fellow, only eight years old, was placed on the table, like a ſtatue, in the middle of the deſert, where he played on a violin almoſt as big as himſelf, and ſurprized even the artiſts themſelves by his extraordinary performance.

From theſe, and a thouſand ſuch examples, it plainly appears, that children have not that ineptitude for manly exerciſes as is generally imagined; and that, if we ſee they do not ſucceed in ſome, it is becauſe they never had ſufficient practice.

No doubt but you will tell me, that I am falling here into the ſame miſtake of too haſty an improvement, in regard to the body, as I condemned before, in reſpect to the mind. The difference is very conſiderable; in the one, this progreſs is only apparent,

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in the other, it is real. I have ſhewn already, that their wit and underſtanding are mere deception; whereas the actions you ſee them perform, are ſuch in reality. Beſides, you muſt ever remember, that all this either is, or ſhould be, in the way of diverſion; it ſhould be an eaſy and voluntary direction of the movements required by nature; the art of varying their amuſements, in order to render them more agreeable, without uſing the leaſt conſtraint, which would make a toil of pleaſure. For, after all, what amuſement can they poſſibly have, which it is not in my power to render a means of inſtruction? And even ſhould this exceed my power, ſtill, if they divert themſelves, and do no miſchief, and the time glides inſenſibly away, it is no great matter whether they make any improvement at preſent; whereas, when they are obliged to learn one leſſon or other, after the manner now practiſed, it is impoſſible to attain your end, without a great deal of trouble, vexation, and reſtraint.

What has been here obſerved, in regard to the two ſenſible faculties of moſt conſtant and neceſſary uſe, may ſerve for an example of the manner of exerciſing the reſt. The ſight and the touch are equally applied to bodies at reſt and in motion; but, as nothing but the vibration of the air is able to affect the ſenſe of hearing, none but a body in motion is capable of producing a ſound; if every thing were at reſt, we ſhould never hear at all. Therefore by night, when we make no motion ourſelves, but juſt as we pleaſe, and of courſe have nothing to fear, except from bodies in motion; it behoves us to have a quick ear, that we may be able to judge, from the ſenſation that affects us, whether the body which cauſes it be large or ſmall, diſtant or near, and weak or violent in its motions. The vibrated air is ſubject to repercuſſions, which reflect it back, and, being productive of echos, repeat the ſenſation, ſo as to make the

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the ſonorous body appear to be in a different place from where it is. If you clap your ear to the ground, on a plain or in a valley, you will diſtinguiſh the voice of a man, or the trampling of horſes, at a much greater diſtance, than if you were ſtanding upright.

As we have compared the ſight to the touch, it is proper we compare it alſo to the hearing; and that we know which of the two impreſſions, made at the ſame time, by the ſame body, will reach its reſpective organ ſooneſt. When you ſee the fire of a cannon, you have yet time to guard againſt the ſhot; but as ſoon as you hear the report, it is too late, the ball is upon you. It is poſſible to judge of the diſtance of the clouds in a ſtorm of thunder, by the interval of time between the lightning and the exploſion. Let the child know all theſe experiments; let him make ſuch himſelf as are not above his capacity, and find out the others by induction; but I had much rather he knew nothing of theſe ſubjects, than that he ſhould receive his knowledge from you.

We have an organ which anſwers to that of hearing, namely, that of the voice; but we have none that correſponds to that of the ſight: for we do not emit colours as we do ſounds. This is one way more to improve the former ſenſe than the latter, by a mutual exerciſe of the active and paſſive organs.

Man has three ſorts of voice, namely, the ſpeaking or articulate, the ſinging or melodious, and the accented or pathetic, which is the language of the paſſions, and animates our ſong and our diſcourſe. A child has three kinds of voice as well as a man, but knows not how to unite them in the ſame manner: he can laugh, cry, whine, make exclamations and groans, as well as we, but he cannot mix their inflections with the other two voices. Perfect muſic is that which unites theſe three voices in the beſt manner. Children are incapable of ſuch muſic; their ſinging

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is not at all animated. In like manner, their ſpeaking voice has no accent; they cry out, but their words are not accented; and as there is very little energy in their ſpeech, there is as little emphaſis in their voice: Our pupil will be ſtill more plain and uniform in his diſcourſe; for as his paſſions have not yet been excited, he will not mix their language with his own. You muſt not therefore deſire him to commit long paſſages of dramatic writers to memory, nor learn him to declaim. He has too much ſenſe, to give an emphaſis to words he does not underſtand, or expreſſion to ſentiments he never felt.

Teach him to ſpeak plainly, to articulate well, and to pronounce exactly, without any affectation; to know, and to conform, to the grammatical accent and proſody, to raiſe his voice ſufficiently to be underſtood, but not at all higher than is neceſſary; which laſt, is the uſual defect of children educated in colleges; in all things, let ſuperfluity be avoided.

In like manner as to ſinging, endeavour to render his voice exact, equal, flexible, and ſonorous; let his ear be ſenſible to meaſure and harmony, and nothing further. Imitative and theatrical muſic does not ſuit his years. I ſhould even be againſt his making uſe of words in ſinging; or if he would alſo have words, I ſhould try to compoſe ſongs for him on purpoſe, adapted to his age, and as ſimple as his ideas.

As I have been hitherto ſo indifferent about his learning to write, it is natural to imagine, I ſhall not be impatient in regard to his learning muſic. Let no painful attention diſturb his brain; and be not in a hurry to fix any artificial ſigns in his mind. I own, that this delay ſeems to be attended with ſome difficulty; for though the knowledge of notes does not at firſt appear more neceſſary, in order to learn to ſing, than that of letters, to learn to ſpeak; yet there is this difference, that in ſpeaking we convey our own ideas; in ſinging, thoſe of others. Now to convey

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convey the ideas of others, we muſt be able to read them.

But in the firſt place, inſtead of reading, we may hear them; and a tune is conveyed more faithfully by the ear, than by the eye. Beſides, to underſtand muſic thoroughly, it is not ſufficient to play or ſing, we muſt learn to compoſe at the ſame time, otherwiſe we ſhall never be perfect in this art. Let your little muſician be practiſed at firſt in making well-turned phraſes, with proper cadences, then let him connect them together by a very ſimple modulation; and laſt of all, let him mark their different relations by a correct punctuation, which is effected by a proper choice of cadences and ſtops. Eſpecially, let him never enter into a wild or whimſical taſte, and let him not affect the pathetic in his expreſſion. Let the melody he learns be plain and ſimple, always flowing from the chords eſſential to the tune, and conſtantly pointing out the baſe, in ſuch a manner, as he may eaſily perceive and accompany it; for in order to form the voice and the ear, he ſhould never ſing to any inſtrument but the harpſichord.

The better to mark the ſounds, they are pronounced articulately; and from thence came the cuſtom of ſolfaing with particular ſyllables. To diſtinguiſh the degrees on the ſcale, we muſt give names both to thoſe degrees, and alſo to the fixed terms of their difference; from thence we have the names of the intervals, as alſo the application of thoſe letters of the alphabet, which are marked on the keys of the harpſichord, and the notes of the gammut. *C* and *A* denote ſuch ſounds as are fixt and invariable, and always rendered by the ſame ſtops. *Ut* and *La* are quite a different thing: the former is always the fundamental note of a greater mode, or the mediante of a leſſer. Thus the letters ſignify the invariable terms of the relations of our muſical ſyſtem, and the ſyllables point out the terms of like relations in

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in different tunes. The letters denote the ſtops on the keys; and the ſyllables the degrees of the mode. The French muſicians have ſtrangely intangled theſe diſtinctions; they have confounded the meaning of the ſyllables with that of the letters, and by multiplying the marks of the ſtops to no purpoſe, they have left none to expreſs the chords; ſo that with them, *Ut* and *C* are always the ſame thing, which neither is, nor can be the caſe; for then *C* would be of no uſe. Thus their manner of ſolfaing is extremely difficult, without being attended with any kind of utility, or conveying a clear idea to the mind; ſince, by this method, theſe two ſyllables *Ut* and *Mi*, for inſtance, may either ſignify a third greater, or leſſer. By what ſtrange fatality is it come to paſs, that the country, which has produced the beſt writers on muſic, ſhould be that where this ſcience is moſt difficult to learn?

Let us follow an eaſier and clearer method, for our Emilius; let him have but two modes, whoſe relations ſhall be always the ſame, and always denoted by the ſame ſyllables. Whether he ſings or plays upon an inſtrument, let him learn to found his mode on each of the twelve tones; and whether the modulation be in *D*, *C*, or *G*, &c. let the final be *Ut* or *La*, according to the mode. By this method, he will always underſtand you; the eſſential relations of the mode, both in order to ſing and to play with exactneſs, will be ever preſent to his mind; his execution will be neater; and his progreſs more expeditious. There is nothing more extravagant, than what the French call natural ſolfaing; this is altering the ideas of things, and ſubſtituting others in their place; which muſt be productive of error. Nothing is more natural than to ſolfa by tranſpoſition, when the mode is tranſpoſed. But enough on the ſubject of muſic; teach it in what manner you pleaſe, provided it be conſidered only as an amuſement.

We

We are now thoroughly apprized of the ſtate of extraneous bodies, in regard to ours, of their weight, figure, colour, ſolidity, magnitude, diſtance, temperature, motion, and reſt. We are informed of thoſe it is proper for us to approach, or to avoid, of the method we muſt take to overcome their reſiſtance, or to make uſe of other bodies to prevent their doing us an injury. But this is not ſufficient; our own bodies are continually waſting, and therefore ſtand in need of a continual ſupply. Though we have the power of changing other ſubſtances into our own, the choice is not a matter of indifference: every thing is not a nutriment to man; and of thoſe ſubſtances on which he may feed, there are ſome more proper for him than others, according to the difference of his conſtitution, to the climate he reſides in, and to the manner of living, preſcribed by his preſent condition.

We ſhould all be ſtarved to death, or poiſoned, if to chuſe a right nutriment, we were to wait till experience had determined our choice. But the ſupreme goodneſs, which hath ordained that the pleaſure of ſenſible beings ſhould be the inſtrument of their preſervation, apprizes us, by the gratification of our palate, of the aliment proper for our ſtomach. Naturally ſpeaking, man has no better phyſician than his own appetite; and taking him in his primitive ſtate, I make no doubt, but the moſt palatable nutriments were alſo the moſt conducive to health.

Further. The univerſal Creator not only provides againſt the wants which we receive from him, but likewiſe againſt thoſe of our own making; and, in order that deſire and want ſhould always go hand in hand, he has taken care that our taſte ſhould alter together with our manner of living. The more we deviate from the ſtate of nature, the more we loſe our natural taſte; or rather, habit makes a ſecond nature, which we ſubſtitute after ſuch a manner, in the place of the firſt, that none can tell the difference.

From

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From thence it follows, that the moſt natural taſtes ought alſo to be the moſt ſimple; for they are tranſformed with the greateſt eaſe; whereas thoſe which are raiſed and worked up by whim and fancy, aſſume ſuch a form, as it is impoſſible to alter. A man, who as yet is unſettled, will make no difficulty to conform to the cuſtoms of any part of the world; but he who has fixed his reſidence, does not chuſe to remove.

This appears to be true in every ſenſe, and much more ſo, when applied to taſte, properly ſo called. Our firſt nutriment is milk; it is by degrees only, that we accuſtom ourſelves to ſavoury diſhes, and they are diſagreeable to us in the beginning. Fruits, pulſe, herbs, and a little broiled meat, without ſeaſoning or ſalt, were ſerved up at entertainments in the primitive ages (24). The firſt time that a ſavage drinks wine, he makes faces at it, and ſpits it out; and even among us, whoever has lived till twenty without taſting fermented liquors, can never be reconciled to them afterwards; we ſhould all be abſtemious, if wine had not been given to us when we were young. In ſhort, the more ſimple our taſtes, the more general; the moſt common averſions are to made diſhes. Was there ever an inſtance of a man, that had a diſlike to bread or water? This is nature's path, and this we ſhall follow. Let our pupil preſerve his primitive taſte as much as poſſible; let his food be plain and ſimple; let his palate be uſed only to diſhes of common flavour, and never form a particular taſte.

I ſhall not inquire here, whether this manner of living be wholeſome or not, for I am not conſidering it now in that light. A ſufficient reaſon for my giving it the preference, is my being certain that it is more agreeable to nature, and more eaſily exchanged for any other form. They who pretend that we ſhould

(24) See Pauſanias's Arcadia; ſee alſo the paſſage out of Plutarch tranſcribed here below.

accuſtom

accuſtom children to ſuch food, as they will live upon when advanced to maturity, do not, in my opinion, reaſon juſtly. Why ſhould their nouriſhment be the ſame, when their manner of living is ſo different? A man worn out with labour and care, ſtands in need of juicy aliments, which ſhall convey freſh ſpirits to the brain; a child who is every day at play, and whoſe body is conſtantly growing, has occaſion for a plentiful nouriſhment, which ſhall produce a great quantity of chyle. Beſides, a grown perſon has already his ſtation, his employ, his reſidence; but who can certainly tell, what fate may attend a child? Let us not, by any means, determine his taſte in ſuch a manner, that he ſhall find it too difficult to change, even when occaſion requires. Let us not be the cauſe of his ſtarving in other countries, if he does not take a French cook with him; nor of his ſaying, none but the French know how to eat. And here, by way of parentheſis, is a pleaſant elogium! For my part, I ſhould ſay quite the reverſe, that the French are the only nation, who know not how to eat, ſince they muſt uſe ſuch a vaſt deal of art, to render their victuals agreeable to the palate.

Of all our different ſenſations, thoſe we have from the taſte, generally affect us the moſt. And indeed, we have a greater intereſt in judging rightly of ſubſtances, that are to make part of ours, than of ſuch as only ſurround us. A thouſand things are indifferent to the touch, to the hearing, to the ſight; but there is hardly any thing indifferent to the taſte. Beſides, the activity of this organ is altogether phyſical and corporeal; it is the only one that does not addreſs itſelf to the fancy, or with whoſe operations that volatile power has the leaſt concern, whereas fancy and imitation frequently give a moral tincture to the impreſſion of all the other ſenſes. And indeed we obſerve, that generally ſpeaking, people of an amorous diſpoſition, and ſtrong ſenſibility, are eaſily affected by

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by the other ſenſes, but are extremely indifferent in regard to the gratifications of the palate. From this very conſideration, which ſeems to reduce the taſte to the loweſt degree, and to render the perſon, who reſigns himſelf to it, the more contemptible, I ſhould infer the contrary, that the ſureſt way to govern children, is by their belly. The motive of gluttony is preferable to that of vanity, inaſmuch as the former is a natural appetite, immediately depending on the ſenſes; whereas the latter is the effect of opinion, ſubject to human caprice, and to all manner of abuſe. Gluttony is a childiſh appetite; it yields to every other paſſion; upon the leaſt competition it diſappears. Aſſure yourſelf, your pupil will begin but too ſoon to leave off thinking of his belly; when his heart is poſſeſſed by a favourite object, he will not trouble himſelf much about indulging his palate. As he advances in years, a thouſand impetuous emotions will divert him from the mean purſuits of gluttony, and inflame his mind with higher notions of vanity and pride: for this is the paſſion that ſuperſedes all the reſt, the paſſion in which they are all abſorbed. I have ſometimes examined into the character of thoſe people, who ſet ſo great a value upon a dainty bit, who, as ſoon as they awaked, thought of what they ſhould have for dinner and ſupper that day, and who deſcribed an entertainment with greater exactneſs, than Polybius uſes in deſcribing a battle. I found that thoſe pretended men were only children forty years old, void of vigour or ſpirit, *fruges conſumere nati*. Gluttony is the vice of perſons that have no ſolidity. The ſoul of a glutton is ſeated in his palate; he is formed only to eat; his ſtupidity, his incapacity, are ſuch, that he is never in his right place but at table, and he can judge of nothing but of different diſhes: let us reſign this employ to him without the leaſt regret; he is better pleaſed with it, than with any other; and it gives us no manner of concern.

To

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To be afraid leſt the vice of gluttony ſhould be rivetted in a child of any capacity, argues weakneſs. In our infancy, we only think of eating; in our youth, we give ourſelves no more trouble about it, we like every thing that comes in our way, for we have other buſineſs to mind. Yet I would not make an indiſcreet uſe of ſo low a motive, nor ſupport the honour of a good action, by a dainty bit. But as our whole infancy is ſpent, or ought to be ſpent, in play and innocent amuſements, I ſee no reaſon why exerciſes, merely corporeal, ſhould not have the ſame kind of reward. Suppoſe a young Majorcan, ſeeing a baſket on the top of a tree, was to bring it down with his ſling, would it not be juſt he ſhould benefit by his dexterity, and eat a hearty breakfaſt, to repair the ſtrength he had exhauſted in this exerciſe (25)? When the young Spartan, at the riſk of a hundred laſhes, ſlipt into the kitchen, and brought off a fox's cub alive under his coat, but rather than undergo the ſhame of being caught in the fact, ſuffered himſelf to be ſcratched and bit, and even his belly to be torn open by the ravenous creature, without making the leaſt contorſion, or raiſing a ſingle cry; was it not very fit he ſhould profit by his prey, and devour the beaſt that had attempted to devour him? A good repaſt never ought to be given as a reward; but why ſhould it not be a conſequence of the labour and pains, that have been taken to procure it? Emilius does not conſider the cake, which I put on the ſtone, as a recompence for his running well; but he knows, that the only way to obtain the cake, is to reach the goal before his rivals.

This is not at all contrary to the maxim I laid down a while ago, concerning the ſimplicity of diſhes; for to pleaſe the appetite of children, there is no occaſion

(25) It is now many centuries ſince the people of Majorca loſt this cuſtom; it obtained at the time when they were famous ſlingers.

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to excite, but only to satisfy their sensuality; and this may be effected by the most common things in life, unless we have endeavoured to refine their taste. Their constant appetite, arising from their tendency to growth, is a certain sauce, which will always supply the place of dainties. A little fruit, milk-meats, a cake or roll, somewhat better than common bread, with a proper management in the distribution of it, would be a sufficient bait, to draw whole armies of children to the further end of the globe, without giving them a taste for high-flavoured meats, or running the risk of vitiating their palates.

Among other proofs that the taste of flesh-meat is not natural to man, we may reckon the indifference, which children have for that kind of nutriment, and the preference they give to vegetable food, to butter, milk, cheese, cakes, fruit, &c. It is of the utmost importance not to debauch this primitive taste, and to prevent children from being carnivorous: were it not expedient upon the account of their health, at least it is a matter that concerns their temper and disposition of mind; for whatever forced construction we may give to experience, it is very certain, that great eaters of flesh-meat, are in general more cruel and ferocious, than other people. This observation holds good in regard to all places and times; the barbarity of the English is well known (26); on the contrary, the Gebers are the mildest people in the whole world (27). All savages are cruel, which is not owing to their manners, but to their aliment. They go forth to war as to the chace, and they treat mankind like bears. In Eng-

(26) I am not ignorant that the English talk greatly of their humanity, and call themselves a *good-natured people*; but they may boast of this character as much as they will, no body gives it them but themselves.

(27) The Banians, who abstain from flesh-meat more strictly than the Gebers, are almost as mild as they; but as their morality is not so pure, nor their religious worship so rational, they are not so honest a people.

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land, neither butchers nor ſurgeons are admitted as jurymen in criminal cauſes †; great villains are inured to murder by drinking of blood. Homer repreſents the Cyclops, who were eaters of fleſh, as a moſt frightful people; and the Lotophagi, on the other hand, as ſo amiable a nation, that they who had once taſted of their converſe, forgot their own country to live among them.

" You aſk me, ſaid Plutarch, why Pythagoras ab-
" ſtained from eating the fleſh of brutes; for my part,
" I would fain know, on the other hand, what kind
" of courage was that of the firſt man, who reached
" the mangled fleſh of a ſlaughtered beaſt to his mouth,
" who grinded the bones of an expiring animal with
" his teeth, who having ordered ghaſtly corpſes, and
" dead carcaſſes to be brought up to table, filled
" his ſtomach with limbs, which but a little before
" bleated, lowed, walked, and looked about them!
" How could his hand plunge the ſteel into the heart
" of a ſenſible being? How could his eye bear to
" behold the murder? How could he endure to ſee a
" poor defenceleſs animal ſlaughtered, flayed, and
" inhumanly mangled? How could he ſtand the
" ſight of their panting fleſh? How could he bear
" the ſmell of them? and how comes it, that he
" was not entirely diſguſted and ſeized with horror,
" when he came to handle the bleeding wounds, and
" to wipe off the black coagulated blood, with which
" they were covered?

" *Broiled fleeces crept upon the earth;*
" *Fleſh bellowed out upon the ſpit,*
" *Man could not eat of them without ſhuddering,*
" *While he heard their groans in his belly.*

" This is what man muſt have imagined to himſelf,
" the firſt time he ſurmounted nature, to make this
" horrid repaſt, the firſt time that his appetite promp-

† The author by miſtake ſays, are not admitted as witneſſes. *The Tranſlator.*

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" ed him to eat a living animal, that he wanted to " feed upon a creature which was yet grazing, and " that he gave directions how the lamb, which was " licking his hands, ſhould be butchered, quartered, " and dreſſed. You ought rather to be ſurprized at " thoſe who began, than at ſuch as diſcontinued " theſe cruel feaſts: nay, the former might alledge " ſome excuſe for their barbarity, which we cannot, " and the want of which renders us a hundred times " more barbarous than them.

" Mortals, highly favoured of the gods, thoſe " firſt men would ſay, compare the times, ſee how " happy you are, and we how miſerable! The earth " newly created, and the air ſurcharged with vapours, " were as yet uncompliant to the order of the " ſeaſons; the rivers, ignorant of their courſe, broke " their banks on every ſide; three fourths of the ſur- " face of the earth was covered with ponds, lakes, " and deep moraſſes; while the other quarter was " over-run with woods and barren foreſts. The " ground then produced no good fruits. Man had " no inſtruments of art or tillage: the harveſt never " came to him, who had not ſown. Hunger there- " fore did not leave him. In the winter, moſs and " the bark of trees were his ordinary food. The " green roots of dog-graſs or of broom were a re- " gale; and when men had found out nuts or acorns, " they danced round ſome oak or beech, to the ſound " of a ruſtic ſong, calling the earth their nurſe and " their mother; this was their only feaſt, their only " diverſion; all the reſt of human life was a continued " ſcene of pain and miſery.

" At length, when the earth was ſo naked, as to " afford them no longer any ſuſtenance, they were " obliged to act contrary to nature, for their own pre- " ſervation; ſo that they choſe rather to devour the " companions of their miſery, than to periſh with " them. But you, cruel mortals, who compels you

" to

" to pollute yourſelves with blood? See with what a " profuſion of bleſſings you are ſurrounded! How " many fruits the earth produces for your uſe! How " many animals offer you their milk for your nouriſh- " ment, and their fleeces for your cloathing! What " more would you demand of them, and what fren- " zy impels you to commit thoſe acts of barbarity, " when you abound in ſuch plenty of all the ne- " ceſſaries of life? Why do you belie your mother " as unable to maintain you? Why do you profane " the inventreſs of ſacred laws, the divine Ceres, " and ſhame the mild and gentle Bacchus, the com- " forter of the human heart, as if their bounties were " not ſufficient to preſerve mankind? How can you " dare to mix their delicious fruits with the bones of " animals, and to eat milk together with the blood of " the poor beaſts that ſo generouſly yield it? Pan- " thers and lions, which you are wont to call " ſavage beaſts, follow their inſtinct, and kill other " animals for their ordinary nouriſhment. But you " are far more ferocious than they; you, without " neceſſity, act againſt inſtinct, merely to indulge a " ſavage pleaſure; the beaſts on which you feed are " not ſuch as devour others; you do not eat, but " imitate, the carnivorous animals. Your appetite is " directed only towards the harmleſs and the tame, " which do no injury to any one, which are fondly " attached to you, which ſerve you, while you, alas! " are ſo cruel as to repay their ſervices by devouring " them.

" O unnatural murderer! but if thou wilt contend, " that nature has formed thee to devour thy fellow- " creatures, that have fleſh and bones, and are animate " like thyſelf, let me ſee thee ſurmount that horror, " which thou haſt from that tender parent againſt this " ſhocking repaſt; kill the beaſt thou wouldſt eat " with thy own hands, without an ax or chopping- " knife; tear them with thy nails, as lions and bears

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" are wont to do with their claws; rend that ox with
" thy teeth, and dig thy talons into his hide; eat
" that lamb alive, devour the flesh yet warm, and
" drink up its soul and blood together. Thou trem-
" blest with horror at the proposal; thou art afraid
" to feel the palpitation of living flesh between thy
" teeth. Miserable man! thou beginnest with kill-
" ing the animal, afterwards thou devourest it,
" which, in some measure, is putting it twice to
" death. Nor even is this sufficient; thou hast still a
" dislike to raw flesh, thy stomach cannot bear it;
" thou must transform it by the fire, thou must
" boil, thou must roast, thou must season it with
" spices, in order to disguise it; thou must have
" butchers and cooks, to take away the horror of
" murder, and to dress up for thee dead bodies, that
" the palate being deceived, may not reject such
" unnatural fare, but relish the taste of carcasses,
" which the eye can scarcely behold without hor-
" ror."

Although this extract be somewhat foreign to my subject, I could not withstand the temptation of transcribing it, and, I believe, the reader will not be displeased with it.

But whatever regimen you prescribe to children, provided you accustom them only to plain simple dishes, let them eat, and play, and run about, as much as they please; you may be sure they will not eat too much, nor be troubled with indigestion. But if you starve them half the time, and they can contrive to get from under your eye, they will indemnify themselves for what they have lost; they will devour with all their might till they are crammed, and ready to burst. Our appetite becomes immoderate only, by endeavouring to reduce it under other rules than those of nature. But I return to my examples. Among the peasants, the cupboard and orchard are always open; and yet both the old and the young are utter strangers to indigestion.

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Yet if a child ſhould happen to eat too much (which I do not believe to be poſſible, according to my method) when you allow him ſuch amuſements as hit his taſte, it is ſo eaſy to divert him, that the repletion may be removed by abſtinence, without his thinking of it. How comes it that ſuch eaſy and ſure contrivances ſhould have eſcaped the notice of all thoſe who have written on education? Herodotus relates, that the Lydians being afflicted with a great famine, invented ſeveral kinds of amuſements to deceive their appetite, and paſſed whole days without eating (28). Your learned pedagoues have read this paſſage perhaps a hundred times, without perceiving the application in regard to children. Some of them very likely may tell me, that a boy will not ſo eaſily leave his dinner to learn his leſſon. My good maſter, you are in the right; but that amuſement never once came into my head.

The ſenſation of ſmelling is, in regard to the taſte, the ſame as that of ſeeing, in reſpect to the touch: it precedes its operations; it apprizes it of the manner in which ſuch a particular ſubſtance will affect it, and thence diſpoſes it either to ſeek or to avoid that ſubſtance, according to the impreſſion it thus receives. I have been told, that the ſavages had their ſenſe of ſmelling very different from ours, and judged quite otherwiſe of good and bad odours. For my part, I am very ready to believe it. Odours of themſelves are weak ſenſations; they act upon the imagination more than on the ſenſible organ, and affect us more in idea than in reality. This being premiſed,

(28) The ancient hiſtorians abound with paſſages, which might be of uſe, even if the facts themſelves were not true. But we ſeem to have loſt ſight of making a right uſe of hiſtory; critical erudition abſorbs every other conſideration, as if it were of any importance whether a fact were true or not, provided we could draw an uſeful inſtruction from it. Men of ſenſe ought to conſider hiſtory as a collection of fables, the moral of which is well adapted to humanity.

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the taſte of ſome people becoming, from their manner of living, ſo different from the taſte of others, they muſt judge very differently of the ſame ſavours, and conſequently of the odours that precede them. A Tartar may receive as much pleaſure from ſmelling to a ſtinking quarter of a dead horſe, as our ſportſmen from a tainted partridge.

Our indolent ſenſations, for inſtance to be embalmed with the fragrance of a flower-garden, muſt be almoſt imperceptible to thoſe, who walk too much to like it as a diverſion, and who labour too little to find any pleaſure in reſt. A perſon very hungry would not take any great delight in perfumes, which raiſed no expectation of ſomething to quiet the cravings of his appetite.

The ſmell is a ſenſe ſubordinate to the imagination. As it braces the nerves, it muſt greatly agitate the brain; for which reaſon, it revives at firſt, but by continued uſe deſtroys, the conſtitution. The effects it produces in love are well known; the ſweet perfume of the toilet is not ſo weak a ſnare as ſome imagine; and I know not whether we ought to congratulate or condole with the inſenſible ſage, who never felt a palpitation from the ſmell of a noſegay in his miſtreſs's boſom.

The ſenſe of ſmelling cannot be very active in the early part of life, when there are but few paſſions as yet to rouze the fancy, and render it ſuſceptible of emotion; and when they have not had experience ſufficient to know by one ſenſe, what is promiſed by another. And indeed this obſervation is perfectly agreeable to experience; for it is certain, that this ſenſe is very dull, in moſt children. Not but they have the ſenſation as exquiſite, and perhaps more ſo, than grown perſons; but as they connect it with no other idea, it does not ſo eaſily affect them with a ſenſation of pleaſure or pain, neither are they ſo eaſily delighted or offended with it as we. I am of opinion, that without departing from this ſyſtem,

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tem, or having recourſe to the comparative anatomy of the two ſexes, we might eaſily diſcover the reaſon, why women in general have a more exquiſite ſenſibility in this organ than men.

It is ſaid, that the ſavages of Canada attain ſo ſubtle a ſmell in their younger days, that, although they have dogs, they do not think it worth their while to make uſe of them in hunting, but are their own dogs on that occaſion. And indeed, I apprehend, that if children were taught to find out their dinner by the ſcent, as the dog ſeeks out the game, perhaps their ſmell might be improved to the very ſame degree: but, in the main, I do not perceive, that this organ can be rendered of any great utility to them, unleſs it be to apprize them of the relations between this ſenſe and that of the taſte. Nature has taken care to oblige us to be acquainted with thoſe relations. She has contrived to make the operation of the latter ſenſe almoſt inſeparable from the former, by placing their organs near to each other, and opening an immediate communication between them both in the mouth, ſo that we can taſte nothing without ſmelling it. Only I would not have theſe natural relations, by any means, to be altered, in order to deceive a child, by diſguiſing, for inſtance, the diſagreeable taſte of a doſe of phyſic under an agreeable aromatic: for there is too great an oppoſition between the two ſenſes, to be able to impoſe upon him; and the moſt active ſenſe abſorbing the effect of the other, he takes his phyſic with the ſame diſguſt, as if it had not been ſcented. This diſguſt extends to all the ſenſations that affect him at the ſame time; the weakeſt being preſent excite his fancy to recall the ſtrongeſt; a very ſweet-ſcented perfume is no more to him than a diſagreeable taſte; and thus our precaution is ſo indiſcreet as to increaſe the number of the diſagreeable ſenſations at the expence of thoſe which afford us pleaſure.

It remains for me to treat, in the following books, of the improvement of a ſixth kind of ſenſe, called com-

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common ſenſe; not becauſe it is common to all men, but that it reſults from a well-regulated uſe of the other ſenſes, and acquaints us with the nature of things from the concurrence of all their appearances. This ſixth ſenſe has conſequently no particular organ; it reſides only in the brain, and its ſenſations being merely internal, are called perceptions or ideas. The extent of human knowledge is meaſured by theſe ideas; their clearneſs and diſtinctneſs renders our judgment exact; and the art of comparing them with one another, is called human reaſon. Thus what I diſtinguiſh by the name of ſenſitive or puerile reaſon, conſiſts in forming ſimple ideas, from the concurrence of many ſenſations; and what I call intellectual or human reaſon, conſiſts in forming complex notions from the concurrence of many ſimple ideas.

Suppoſing therefore my method to be agreeable to nature, and no miſtake on my ſide in its application, I have conducted my pupil through the country of ſenſations to the confines of puerile reaſon: the firſt ſtep we take beyond this ought to be that of a man. But before we enter upon this new career, let us caſt an eye over that which we have traverſed. Every age, every condition in life, has its proper perfection, a kind of maturity, that ſuits it. We have often heard talk of a full-grown man, let us take a view of a full-grown child; the ſubject will be more new to us, and perhaps not leſs agreeable.

The exiſtence of finite beings is ſo poor and limited, that realities do not affect us. It is chimeras that adorn the real objects; unleſs the imagination adds a luſtre to the beauty that ſtrikes the eye, the barren pleaſure is confined to the external organ, but does not penetrate the inmoſt ſoul. The earth, ſo richly decorated with autumnal fruits, diſplays a magnificence that raviſhes the ſight, but does not affect the mind; our admiration is rather the

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the work of comtemplative reflection, than of glowing ſentiment. In the ſpring, the country is almoſt naked, the woods afford no cooling ſhade, the lively verdure only begins to put forth its head, yet the heart is affected with the proſpect. The ſight of reviving nature inſpires us with new life, and pleaſing images on every ſide ſurround us: tears, thoſe ſoft companions of heart-felt joy and exquiſite ſenſation, are ready to ſtart from the melting eye. But the fermenting juices of the vintage, the high-ſparkling floods of chearing nectar, though they afford a lively pleaſing ſcene, are ſtill beheld with a different ſenſation.

And why this difference? Becauſe to the pleaſing proſpect of vernal beauties, the ſportive fancy adds that of the following ſeaſons, the ſummer's brightning fields, and autumnal plenty; to thoſe ſhooting buds, which the eye perceives with enraptured glance, by the aid of imagination we join the flowery race, the mellow fruit, the mid-wood ſhade, and even the myſterious pleaſures that are oft concealed in thoſe cool retreats. We draw the different changes of the rolling year into one point of view, and contemplate the objects, not according to their natural ſucceſſion, but to our own wiſh and deſire, in which we are aſſiſted by fancy's mimic power. In autumn, on the contrary, nothing more is to be ſeen than the preſent object. If you would ſtretch away to blooming ſpring, the hoary winter ſtops your career, and the imagination ſhrinking, expires amidſt the fleecy ſhowers of ſnow and killing froſts.

Such is the ſource of the delight we receive in contemplating the beauty of infancy, preferably to the perfection of manhood. When do we taſte a real ſatisfaction in viewing a man? When our memory enables us to take a retroſpect of his life and actions, and reſtores him again, as it were, to his youth and blooming vigour. If we are obliged to view him in his preſent ſtate, or to ſuppoſe him as he will be in old age, the idea

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idea of declining nature effaces all our pleaſure. There can be none to behold a man advancing with haſty ſtrides to the grave; every thing is disfigured by the image of death.

But when I take a view of a child of ten or twelve years old, in perfect vigour, and well made for his age, this ſituation gives riſe to every agreeable idea, whether for the preſent, or for a future conſideration. I ſee him all alive, and in ſpirits, a ſtranger to corroding care, or painful foreſight; ſolely employed about his actual concerns, and enjoying a fulneſs of life, which ſeems as if it would expand itſelf all round him. At another ſtage, I foreſee him improving his ſenſible faculties, his underſtanding, and his bodily ſtrength, which diſplays itſelf more and more every day. I view him a child, and he gives me pleaſure, I imagine him a man, and he delights me ſtill more; his youthful blood ſeems to warm mine; I think I derive new life from his vigour; and youth from his vivacity.

The clock ſtrikes. Alas! what a change! Inſtantly the brightneſs of his eye fades, his gaiety vaniſhes, adieu mirth, and innocent paſtime, adieu. A ſour, ſupercilious fellow taking him by the hand, ſays with great gravity, *come, Sir*, and carries him off. They enter an apartment, where I behold ſome books. Books! what a diſmal furniture for one of his years! the poor child ſuffers himſelf to be dragged along, caſts a wiſhful eye on every thing about him, holds his tongue, but departs with his eyes ſwimming in tears, which he is afraid to let flow; and his heart ſwelling with ſighs, which he dares not vent.

O thou who haſt no ſuch danger to fear, thou who findeſt no part of thy life a time of trouble and reſtraint, who ſeeſt the dawn approach without inquietude, and the night without impatience, and who computeſt the hours only by thy pleaſure, come my happy, my beloved pupil, come and let thy preſence comfort us, for the departure of that unfortu-

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nate youth; come ..... he comes, and at his approach I feel an emotion of joy, of which I ſee him partake. It is his friend, his companion, his playfellow, that he is accoſting; he is ſure in ſeeing me, that he ſhall not be long without amuſement; we never are dependent upon each other; we always agree, and are never ſo well in any other company, as our own.

His figure, his gait, his countenance declare his eaſe and content of mind; ruddy health ſeems to baſk in his cheek; his firm tread diſplays his vigour; his complexion as yet delicate, but not pale and wan, has nothing effeminate; the ſun and the open air have given him the manly impreſſion of his ſex; his muſcles, round and plump, begin to ſhew ſome of the growing traces of expreſſion in his countenance; his eyes, not as yet ſparkling with the fire of ſentiment, have at leaſt all their natural ſerenity; they have not been over-clouded by inceſſant care; nor have his cheeks been furrowed with endleſs tears. By his quick, but ſteady motions, you may perceive the ſprightlineſs of his age, the firmneſs of his independance, and the experience he has gained by repeated exerciſes. He has an open free carriage, without inſolence or vanity. As he has not been confined to books, he has no down-caſt look, nor is there any occaſion to bid him *hold up his head*; neither ſhame nor fear ever made him hang it down.

Let us make room for him, in the midſt of an aſſembly; gentlemen, examine him, aſk him any queſtion with all confidence; be not afraid of his idle prattle, or of his troubling you with impertinent queſtions. Neither be under any apprehenſion that he will engroſs you to himſelf, or pretend to take up your whole time, or that you ſhould not be able to get rid of his company.

Do not expect any witty ſayings from him, or that he will recite any ſpeeches of my compoſing; he will tell you nothing but the plain ſimple truth, without or-

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ornament, vanity, or diſguiſe. He will mention the ill he has done or thought of, with as much frankneſs, as he will diſcloſe his good thoughts or actions, not troubling himſelf in the leaſt about the effect it may have upon your mind; he will uſe the freedom of language in the full ſimplicity of its original inſtitution.

As we are naturally inclined to form good preſages of children, it gives us concern to hear them talk a great deal of nonſenſe, ſince the hopes we had built on ſome lucky hit of theirs, are thereby defeated. If my pupil, on the one hand, does not raiſe ſuch expectations, on the other, he does not cauſe ſuch regret; for he never drops a ſuperfluous word, nor does he ſpend his breath in prating nonſenſe, when he knows that no attention is paid to his diſcourſe. His ideas are confined, but very clear; though he knows nothing by rote, he knows a great deal by experience. Though he reads leſs than other children in printed books, he ſtudies more in that of nature; his underſtanding is not in his tongue, but in his brain: he has not ſo much memory as judgment; he can ſpeak only one language, but he underſtands what he ſays; and if he does not expreſs himſelf ſo well as others, on the other hand he performs better.

He has no knowledge of acting by rote, or cuſtom; what he did yeſterday, no way influences his actions to-day (29); he never follows any ſet forms; he is governed by no authority, or example, and he neither

(29) The influence of habit, proceeds from the natural indolence of man, which increaſes in proportion as people reſign themſelves to it. We perform with greater eaſe, a thing we have performed already; the road is opened, and eaſier to follow. Hence you may obſerve, that the influence of habit is very powerful with the aged and the indolent, but trifling with youth and perſons of great vivacity. This kind of influence is ſuitable only to weak minds, who are enfeebled by it more and more every day. The only habit, uſeful to children, is to ſubmit without reluctance to neceſſity; as the only habit, of any advantage to grown perſons, is readily to comply with the guidance of reaſon. All other habits are vicious.

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acts nor ſpeaks, but in a manner ſuitable to his condition. Therefore you muſt not expect any ſet ſpeeches, or affected manners from him, but a faithful expreſſion of his ſentiments, and a conduct flowing from his natural propenſities.

You will find him poſſeſſed of a ſmall number of moral ideas, which concern his actual condition, but of none at all on the relative ſtate of man; for of what advantage would they be to him, ſince a child is not as yet an acting member of ſociety? Talk to him of liberty, property, and even of the right of compact, ſo far he may underſtand you; he knows the reaſon why that which is his property belongs to him, and why he has no right to that which is not his property. Go beyond this, he is bewildered. Speak to him of duty and obedience, he underſtands not what you mean; command him to do a thing, he has no notion of what you ſay; but tell him, that if he will do you ſuch a favour, you will return it to him upon the firſt occaſion, he will be impatient to oblige you; for he deſires nothing better than to enlarge his power, and to acquire ſuch rights over you as he knows to be inviolate. Perhaps he is not diſpleaſed to be ranked in a better light than ordinary, and to make ſome figure; but if he is actuated by this laſt motive, he has already deviated from nature, and you have not taken proper care to ſtop up all the avenues of vanity.

For his part, ſhould he ſtand in need of aſſiſtance, he will aſk it of the firſt perſon he meets; he will aſk it of a king, as well as of a lackey; mankind, in his eye, are all upon a level. You may perceive by the manner of his requeſt, that he is ſenſible you owe him nothing. He knows that what he deſires of you is a favour; he knows alſo that humanity prompts you to grant it. His expreſſions are ſimple and laconic. His voice, his looks, his geſtures, are thoſe of a being equally accuſtomed to complaiſance and denial. He has neither the cringing ſubmiſſion

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miſſion of a ſlave, nor the imperious tone of a maſter; he has a modeſt confidence in his fellow-creatures, with a noble and engaging ſweetneſs of temper, ſuch as becomes a free, intelligent, but feeble being, who is obliged to aſk the aſſiſtance of another being equally free, but powerful and beneficent. If you comply with his requeſt, he will not thank you, but be ſenſible of the debt he has contracted. If you refuſe to comply, he will not complain, nor inſiſt on your compliance, he knows it would be of no uſe: he will not ſay, *I was refuſed*, but *that could not be*; for, as I have already obſerved, people ſeldom rebel againſt the law of neceſſity, when it is ſufficiently known.

Leave him to his liberty, and obſerve his actions, without ſaying a word: ſee what he does, and how he goes about it. As he has no occaſion to be convinced of his own liberty, he never will do any thing through wilfulneſs and obſtinacy, or merely to exerciſe an act of power: does he not know, that he is always maſter of himſelf? He is alert, active, and ready: his motions have all the vivacity of his age; yet you will ſee none but what are deſigned for ſome particular end. Whatever he may have a mind to do, he will never undertake any thing beyond his ſtrength; for he has tried it, and knows it well; the means he uſes are always adapted to his deſigns, and he rarely attempts to act, without being certain of ſucceſs. He has an attentive, and accurate eye; he will not go about aſking idle queſtions in regard to every thing he ſees; but he will examine into them himſelf, and uſe the utmoſt pains to diſcover a thing by his own ſtudy, rather than inquire of others. If he falls into a ſudden dilemma, he is leſs perplexed, and if he encounters danger, he is leſs frightened, than others in the like circumſtances. As his imagination continues ſtill inactive, and nothing has been done to rouſe it, he perceives only the preſent object; he makes a due eſtimate of the danger; and

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and always preſerves a coolneſs of temper. Too often has he been obliged to yield to neceſſity, to think of ſtruggling with it any longer; he has bore its yoke from his cradle, and now he is accuſtomed to it; in ſhort, he is prepared for every event.

Whether he is buſy or diverts himſelf, it is equal to him; his amuſements are his occupations, he perceives no difference. In every thing he does, he is intirely free, and excited by a double motive of intereſt and pleaſure: this, at the ſame time, his turn of mind, and the ſphere of his knowledge. Is it not a moſt charming, a moſt delightful ſpectacle, at that age, to ſee a pretty boy, with a lively, chearful eye, an air of content and ſatisfaction, and an open, ſmiling countenance, performing the moſt ſerious things by way of play, or profoundly occupied in frivolous amuſements?

Are you now diſpoſed to judge of him by compariſon? Leave him with other children, and ſee how he will behave. You will ſoon perceive which has been beſt inſtructed, and approaches neareſt to the perfection of his years. Among the children of citizens, none is more dexterous than him, but he ſurpaſſes them in ſtrength. Among the country boys, he is as robuſt as any of them, but excels them in dexterity. Wherever the capacity of a boy is ſuppoſed to reach, he has more judgment, reaſon and foreſight, than any of them all. Should he have occaſion to run, to leap, to tumble, to lift up heavy loads, to eſtimate diſtances, to invent ſports, to carry off the prize at each; you would ſay, nature is ſubject to his command, ſo eaſily does he make every thing bend to his will. He is formed to guide, to govern his equals; his abilities and experience ſupply the place of right and authority. Give him what dreſs and name you pleaſe, it imports not; he will be ſure to out-top the reſt; and they will be ſenſible of his ſuperiority. Without deſiring to command, he will be their maſter; and they, on the

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other hand, even unknown to themſelves, will pay him obeiſance.

He is arrived at the laſt term of infancy, he has led an infant's life, but has not purchaſed the perfection of that ſtate, at the expence of his happineſs; on the contrary, they have aſſiſted each other. By acquiring as much reaſon as his years will admit of, he has enjoyed all the happineſs and freedom, ſuited to his ſtate and condition. Should the fatal ſcythe mow down the flower of our hopes, we ſhould not have occaſion to regret his life, and bewail his death at the ſame time; we ſhould not increaſe our ſorrows, by the remembrance of thoſe we had cauſed him to ſuffer; we ſhould ſay to ourſelves, at leaſt, he has enjoyed his infancy; we have bereft him of nothing, that had been beſtowed upon him by all-bounteous nature.

The great objection againſt this early part of education is, that its utility lies hid from ſuch as are not endowed with penetration; and that a child brought up with ſo much art and care, to vulgar eyes would appear an idle boy. The generality of preceptors are more attentive to their own intereſt, than to that of their diſciple; their main point is to prove, that their time has been uſefully employed, and that they have earned their money: they provide him with ſuch a ſtock or ſupply of materials, as may be eaſily diſplayed, whenever they have a mind; they give themſelves no trouble, whether what they teach him be uſeful, or not, provided it be eaſy to exhibit. Thus they load his memory with a prodigious deal of traſh, without either choice or judgment. When the child is to be examined, they make him produce his wares; he ſets them out to the ſatisfaction of his examiners; then packs up his bail, and marches off. My pupil is not ſo rich; he has no bail to unpack; he has nothing but himſelf to exhibit. A boy, no more than a man, is not known at firſt ſight. Where are the ſagacious obſervers, who in an inſtant can diſtinguiſh thoſe features that characterize a child? There are ſuch, but

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but they are very few; and among a hundred thouſand fathers, you will not find one of the number.

The propoſing a multiplicity of queſtions is troubleſome and ungrateful to every body, and much more to children. At the expiration of a few minutes, their attention flags, they liſten no longer to the interrogations of an importunate inquirer, and anſwer only at random. This method of examining is therefore futile and pedantic; they oftentimes let drop a ſingle expreſſion, which gives us a better inſight into their genius and capacity, than a long diſcourſe; but you are to mind, that this expreſſion be neither accidental, nor ſuggeſted. A perſon muſt be poſſeſſed of a good deal of judgment himſelf, to make a proper eſtimate of that of a child.

I remember to have heard a ſtory from the late lord Hyde, concerning a friend of his, who upon his return from Italy, where he had reſided three years, had a mind to examine into the progreſs of his ſon, then only nine or ten years old. For this purpoſe he took a walk one evening, together with the child and his governor, in a field where ſchool-boys were diverting themſelves with flying their kites. The father paſſing along, ſaid to his ſon, *Where is the kite that ſhadow belongs to?* The child, without heſitating, or raiſing his head, made anſwer, *In the high road:* and indeed, continued my lord Hyde, the high road was between the ſun and us. Upon which the father embraced his ſon, and, concluding the examination with that anſwer, he retired without ſaying a word. The day following he ſettled a penſion upon the governor, beſides his uſual ſalary.

How happy a father in ſo promiſing a ſon! The queſtion was exactly adapted to his years; the anſwer was very ſimple; but how clear a judgment it ſuppoſes in the child! Thus it was that Ariſtotle's pupil tamed that famous courſer, which none of his equerries had been able to ride.

The END of the SECOND BOOK.

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EMILIUS;

OR, AN

ESSAY

ON

EDUCATION.

By JOHN JAMES ROUSSEAU,

CITIZEN of GENEVA.

Tranſlated from the French.

Sanabilibus ægrotamus malis: ipſaque nos in rectum genitos natura, ſi emendari velimus, juvat.

SEN. de Irâ, lib. 2. c. 13.

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HERMES, Livre III.

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EMILIUS;

OR, AN

ESSAY on EDUCATION.

BOOK the THIRD.

ALTHOUGH the courſe of human life till the age of puberty be a period of weakneſs, yet there is a point in this early ſtage, at which the progreſs of force having exceeded that of want, the growing animal, ſtill abſolutely weak, becomes relatively ſtrong. His wants not being all diſplayed, his actual ſtrength is more than ſufficient to anſwer his preſent neceſſities. Conſidered as man, he would be undoubtedly feeble; as an infant, he is poſſeſſed of a conſiderable force.

Whence ariſes this weakneſs in man? From the diſproportion between his abilities and his deſires. It is our paſſions that render us feeble, becauſe it requires greater powers to ſatisfy them, than we have received from nature. Diminiſh your deſires, and it will be the ſame as if you had increaſed your force; he, whoſe power is ſuperior to his deſires, has ſome to ſpare; and is certainly a powerful being. Here commences the third ſtate of infancy, of which I am now about to treat. I continue to call it infancy, for want of a more proper term; for this is not yet the ſtage of puberty, though bordering upon it.

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At twelve or thirteen years of age, a child's powers increaſe much faſter than his wants. The moſt impetuous, the moſt terrible of them all, is not yet felt; the organ itſelf remains in an imperfect ſtate, and ſeems to wait for the exertion of the will, to enter upon action. Almoſt inſenſible to the injuries of air and ſeaſons, his natural heat ſupplies the warmth of apparel, and his appetite the provocations of ſauce; whatever is but nouriſhing ſuits his age; if he is drowſy, he lays himſelf on the ground, and falls aſleep; he is ſupplied on every ſide with neceſſaries; no imaginary want torments his mind; he is influenced by no opinion; his deſires go no farther than his arms can reach; he is not only capable of providing for himſelf, but is poſſeſſed of powers that exceed his wants; and this is the only time of life, in which he will be ſo circumſtanced.

Here I am aware of an objection. It will not be affirmed, that the child has a greater number of wants than I allow him to have; but it will be denied, that he has the power which I ſuppoſe him to poſſeſs. They who make this objection, do not reflect, that I am ſpeaking of my own pupil, not of thoſe walking puppets, who are fatigued with creeping from one room into another; who are ſtifled, as it were, in a bandbox, and ſeem to totter under a load of buckram. It may be ſaid, that manly force does not ſhew itſelf before the ſtate of manhood; that the animal ſpirits, duly prepared and diſtributed in their proper veſſels through the body, alone are capable of inveſting the muſcles with that conſiſtence, activity, tone, and elaſticity, of which real ſtrength is formed. This is the reaſoning of modern philoſophers: but I appeal to experience. In the country, I ſee ſturdy lads employed every day in digging the earth, in following the plough, in lifting up a caſk of wine, or driving the cart, in the ſame manner as their fathers; ſo that you would take them for grown men, did not their voice betray them. Even in towns, ſome

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ſome young artizans, as blackſmiths, braziers, farriers, are almoſt as ſtrong and robuſt as their maſters, and would be as expert, had they been trained up ſooner to the buſineſs. If there be any difference in their abilities, and I grant there is ſome, it is a great deal leſs, and I repeat it again, than that between the impetuous deſires of a man, and the moderate inclinations of a child. Beſides, we are not ſpeaking of bodily ſtrength only, but chiefly of the force and capacity of mind, by which the other is ſupplied or directed.

Although this interval of time, in which the power of the individual is ſuperior to his deſire, be not the period of his greateſt abſolute force, yet, as I have already obſerved, his relative force is then at its greateſt height. It is the moſt precious time of life; a time that comes but once; a time of very ſhort duration, that muſt appear ſtill ſhorter, as will at length be ſhewn, from the great importance of employing it well.

In what manner is he then to diſpoſe of this ſuperabundance of power and abilities, which he is poſſeſſed of at preſent, and which he will want hereafter? He ſhould endeavour to employ it to ſuch uſes, as may anſwer ſome unforeſeen exigency. He ſhould throw, if I may ſo ſpeak, the ſuperfluity of his preſent ſtate into his future exiſtence; the robuſt youth ſhould make proviſion for the feeble man; not in laying up his ſtore either in coffers that may be robbed, or in barns that are extraneous to his perſon; but to ſecure the property of his acquiſitions, he ſhould lodge them in his arms, in his head, in ſhort, within himſelf. This is the time for labour, inſtruction, and ſtudy: and take notice, that the choice of this time is not arbitrarily fixed by me, but pointed out by nature herſelf.

The human underſtanding is limited: we are not only incapable of attaining univerſal knowledge; but even to be poſſeſſed of that little ſtock, which is divided amongſt others, is out of our power. Since the

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the reverſe of every falſe propoſition is a truth, the number of truths is infinite, like that of errors. Some choice ought therefore to be made of the ſubjects intended to be taught, as well as of the proper ſeaſon for learning. Of the arts and ſciences within our reach, ſome are falſe, others uſeleſs, and others only tend to the encouragement of vanity and pride. The ſmall number of thoſe, which contribute to our real welfare, are the only ones worthy of the reſearches of a wiſe man, and conſequently of a youth, whom we intend to train up to wiſdom. The point is not to know what may be true, but what is attended with real utility.

Out of this ſmall number we muſt likewiſe except thoſe truths, which cannot be comprehended without a full maturity of underſtanding; thoſe alſo which ſuppoſe a knowledge of ſuch relations and circumſtances in life, as a child is incapable of acquiring; and thoſe, in fine, which though true in themſelves, diſpoſe an unexperienced mind to judge wrong on other ſubjects.

Thus are we reduced to a very ſmall circle, compared to the general ſyſtem; but this circle ſtill forms an immenſe ſphere, in regard to a child's capacity. How preſumptuous the hand that firſt dared to remove the vail of darkneſs, which overſpread the human underſtanding! What an abyſs hath the vanity of learning dug round this unfortunate youth! O thou, who art to conduct him through this dangerous path, and to unvail the ſacred rites of nature to his eye, be ſure to act with caution and trembling. Be ſure of his capacity and thy own; have a care leſt one or the other of you, or perhaps both, be ſeized with giddineſs. Dread the ſpecious allurements of falſhood, and the intoxicating fumes of pride. Remember, and let it be ever imprinted in thy mind, that mere ignorance never did any harm, that error alone is pernicious, and that we do not err in matters of

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of which we are really ignorant, but in thoſe of which we fancy ourſelves to have ſome knowledge.

Your pupil's progreſs in geometry may ſerve you as a proof, and a certain meaſure of the ripening of his underſtanding; but as ſoon as he is capable of diſtinguiſhing what is uſeful, it requires a vaſt deal of art and good management, to bring him to ſpeculative ſtudies. Should you be deſirous, for inſtance, that he looked out for a mean proportional between two given lines; contrive ſo, that he ſhall have occaſion to find a ſquare equal to a given right-angle: if the queſtion related to two mean proportionals, you ſhould firſt of all render the problem of doubling the cube peculiarly intereſting to him, &c. You ſee how we gradually approach towards the moral ideas, diſtinctive of good and evil! Hitherto we have known no law, but that of neceſſity: now we have a regard to utility; and we ſhall ſoon arrive at congruity and goodneſs.

The ſame inſtinct excites the different faculties of man. To the activity of the body, which ſeeks every way to exert itſelf, ſucceeds that of the mind, which ſeeks for inſtruction. In the beginning children are active; afterwards they grow curious; and this curioſity, under a proper direction, is their firſt mover at the age they have now attained. Let us always diſtinguiſh the inclinations given us by nature, from thoſe produced by opinion. There is a deſire of knowledge founded on the ambition or vanity of being conſidered as a man of learning; another ariſes from the natural curioſity of man, whereby he is engaged in the purſuit of every thing, in which he may either nearly or remotely be concerned. The innate deſire of happineſs, and the impoſſibility of fully ſatisfying that deſire, ſets him perpetually upon inquiring after new means conducive to that end. Such is the firſt principle of curioſity; a principle naturally implanted in the heart of man, but which ſhews itſelf only in proportion to our

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our paſſions and our improvements in knowledge. Suppoſe a philoſopher baniſhed to a deſart iſland, with his inſtruments and books, and condemned to ſpend the remainder of his days on that ſpot: he would hardly trouble his head any more about the ſyſtem of the world, the laws of attraction, or the calculus differentialis; perhaps he would never more open any of his books; but he would be ſure to explore every corner of his iſland, be it ever ſo large. Let us therefore exclude from our firſt ſtudies thoſe ſciences for which man has not a natural taſte, and confine ourſelves to thoſe to which we are directed by inſtinct.

This earth is the iſland deſigned for the human ſpecies: the object moſt ſtriking to the eye is the ſun. As ſoon as our thoughts begin to be diverted from ourſelves, our firſt conſiderations are directed to both thoſe ſubjects. Hence the philoſophy of moſt ſavage nations is entirely confined to the imaginary diviſions of the earth, and the divinity of the ſun.

Some perhaps will ſay, what a ſtrange digreſſion! Juſt now our thoughts were employed about what immediately affects and ſurrounds us: and now, on a ſudden, we are traverſing the globe, and making excurſions to the further extremity of the univerſe! This digreſſion, however, is owing to the progreſs of our abilities, and to the bent of our underſtanding. During the ſtate of weakneſs and inſufficiency, the care of our preſervation confines us within ourſelves: in the ſtate of power and ſtrength, the deſire of extending our exiſtence carries us out of ourſelves, and makes us launch out as far as we can poſſibly reach; but the intellectual world being yet unknown to us, our thought can pierce no further than the eye, and our underſtanding is enlarged only in proportion to the ſpace it meaſures.

Let us transform our ſenſations into ideas, without making a ſudden tranſition from ſenſible to intellectual objects. It is by the former we are to arrive at the

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the knowledge of the latter. Let the mind, in its firſt operations, be always guided by the ſenſes. Let there be no other book but the world, no other inſtruction than facts. The boy that reads, does not think, nor gain inſtruction, he only learns a parcel of words.

Endeavour to make your pupil attentive to the phænomena of nature, and you will ſoon excite his curioſity; but to keep it alive, be not in a hurry to ſatisfy it. Put ſome queries to him, ſuited to his capacity, and let him ſolve them himſelf. Let his knowledge be not founded in your authority, but in his own inveſtigation; let him not learn, but invent the ſciences. If ever you ſubſtitute authority in the place of reaſon, he will reaſon no more, but be a dupe to the opinions of others.

Being deſirous your pupil ſhould learn geography, you provide him with maps, ſpheres and globes. . . . What a machinery! To what purpoſe are all thoſe repreſentations? Why do not you begin with ſhewing him the object itſelf, that, at leaſt, he may know the ſubject of your diſcourſe.

Some delightful evening you may take the recreation of a walk with him to a convenient ſpot, where the horizon is all laid open to the eye, allowing a full proſpect of the ſetting ſun; then take particular notice of the different objects which mark the part of the heavens, where that radiant globe ſinks beneath the hemiſphere. The ſucceeding day, deſirous to breathe the freſh air, you return to the ſame ſpot before the ſun riſes. The ruddy ſtreaks of fire, with which he tinges the brightened firmament, betoken his approach. The fire increaſes, the orient ſeems all in flames; the growing luſtre makes you expect that glorious luminary long before he ſhews his glittering head. Each minute you imagine he is emerging from the horizon; at length he comes, and with refulgent majeſty walks abroad. A tranſcendent brightneſs darts like lightning, ſhedding day through

through the whole hemiſphere; the vail of darkneſs is removed, the gates of light are unbarred, man perceives his dwelling-place, and finds it embelliſhed. What a proſpect is opened! While the ſable night involved this part of the globe in her dark mantle, the flowery lawns acquired a pleaſing freſhneſs; the roſy-fingered morn ſhews the plains arrayed with a lively verdure; and the radiant beams, with which they are gilded, diſcloſe a tranſparent net-work of pearly drops, which, like liquid cryſtals, ſparkle upon the eye. The feathered choir unite in concert, to ſalute the father of life; they all hymn their creator, not one is ſilent. Their notes are more languiſhingly ſweet about this time, than during the remainder of the day, as if they had ſcarce awoke from peaceful ſlumbers. The aſſemblage of all theſe objects makes ſo lively an impreſſion on the ſenſes, as ſeems to penetrate the ſoul. There, for half an hour, you may enjoy thoſe raptures, which no man living is able to withſtand: ſo delightful, ſo magnificent a proſpect, can be beheld by no mortal with inſenſibility.

The maſter, glowing with extatic rapture, would fain infuſe it into his pupil's breaſt; he fancies he ſhall be able to communicate thoſe pleaſing ſenſations, by rendering him attentive to what paſſes within himſelf. What ſtupidity! The heart alone is animated with contemplating the beauties of nature; to enjoy this proſpect, we muſt really feel it. The child perceives the objects, but is unable to diſtinguiſh the relations by which they are connected; neither can he perceive the harmony of the ſpheres. It requires experience, and a train of ideas, to which he is yet a ſtranger, to feel the impreſſion ariſing from ſo agreeable a mixture of ſenſible perceptions. If he has not travelled over deſart plains, if burning ſands have not parched his feet, if he has never been overpowered by the ſcorching reflection of the ſun-beams from ſurrounding rocks, how will he be able to reliſh the reviving air of a morning ſcenery? How

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ſhall the breathing ſweets of a flowery garden, the lively charms of a verdant lawn, the brilliant drops of the pearly dew, or the ſoft tread on the velvet down, be able to enrapture his ſenſes? How ſhall the warbling of the ſongſters of the wood have power to enchant his ſoul, if he is yet a ſtranger to the melting accents of love and pleaſure? Is it poſſible for him to feel the leaſt tranſport at the opening of ſo glorious a day, if his imagination is incapable of painting the joyous ſcenes with which it may be filled? In ſhort, how ſhall his ſoul be melted with the enchanting proſpect of nature, if he knows not the hand that took care to array it in all its beauty?

Never talk to your pupil in a language he does not underſtand. Make uſe of no pompous deſcriptions, no flowers of rhetoric, no figures, nor poetry. At preſent, taſte and ſentiment are out of the queſtion. Continue to be plain and intelligible; the time will come but too ſoon, when you muſt have recourſe to another language.

Your pupil being educated according to the principles here laid down, and accuſtomed to draw all his knowledge from himſelf, and never to apply for aſſiſtance, but when he was convinced of his own inabilities, every new object he beholds, he examines it a long time in thoughtful ſilence. He meditates, but does not aſk many queſtions. You muſt therefore be ſatisfied with repreſenting the objects to him at a proper time; and when you have ſeen his curioſity ſufficiently excited, propoſe ſome laconic queſtion to him, which ſhall put him in the way of reſolving his doubts.

Upon the preſent occaſion, after having contemplated the riſing ſun along with your pupil, after having made him obſerve the mountains and other adjacent objects on that ſide, and after you have permitted him to talk for ſome time on that ſubject, be ſilent yourſelf a few minutes, as if you were in a deep ſtudy, and then ſay to him: "I think, "that

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" that laſt night the ſun ſet in yonder part of the " heavens, and this morning it roſe on the oppoſite " ſide. How is this accounted for?" Say not a word more; if he aſks you any queſtions, make him no anſwer, but change the diſcourſe; leave him to himſelf, and you may be ſure he will reflect on what you ſaid.

To accuſtom a child to give his attention to objects, and to be ſtrongly affected with ſenſible truths, he muſt be kept a few days in ſuſpence, before they are diſcovered to him. If he does not ſufficiently apprehend the preſent queſtion, there is a way to render it ſtill more obvious to him, which is, to repeat it in other terms. If he knows not in what manner the ſun moves from its ſetting to its riſing, at leaſt he can tell the manner of its motion from its riſing to its ſetting. Of this he has ocular demonſtration. Explain therefore the former queſtion by the latter: either your pupil is abſolutely ſtupid, or the analogy is too obvious to eſcape him. Let this be his firſt lecture in coſmography.

As it is our rule to proceed gradually from one ſenſible idea to another, and as we dwell ſome time upon the ſame ſubject, in order to render it familiar to us, and, in ſhort, as we never force our pupil to give his attention to any one object, it will be ſome time before we advance from this firſt lecture, to know the real courſe of the ſun, and the figure of the earth. But as all the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies depend on the ſame principle, and the firſt obſervation leads to all the reſt, leſs capacity, but more time, is required, to proceed from the diurnal rotation of the earth to the calculation of eclipſes, than to have a perfect idea of day and night.

Since the ſun turns round the earth, he deſcribes a circle, and every circle muſt have a center; that we know already. This center is inviſible, being in the very heart of the earth; but two points, correſponding to it, may be marked on the ſurface. A rod

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passing through all three, and extending both ways to the heavens, shall be the axis of the earth, and of the diurnal motion of the sun. A globular totum, turning upon one of its points, represents the heavens turning upon their axis; and the two points of the totum are the two poles: the boy will be glad to know one of them; and I will shew it to him near the tail of the little bear. This will afford us amusement enough for one night; by degrees he familiarizes himself with the stars, and from thence he conceives a desire of distinguishing the planets, and observing the constellations.

We have beheld the sun rise at midsummer; we shall likewise see him rise at Christmas, or some other day in winter, when the weather is fair: for it is well known, we are not given to idleness, and it is an amusement to us to defy the cold. I have taken care to make this second observation, just in the very place where we made the first; and by means of some preparatory discourse to introduce the remark, we shall both cry out, Ha! this is pleasant indeed! The sun no longer rises in the same place! Here are our old marks; and now it rises there.....Then there is one east for the summer, and another for the winter. My young tutor, you are in the path of knowledge: these examples are sufficient to bring your pupil acquainted with the sphere, by making use of the earth instead of an artificial globe, and the real sun instead of its representation.

In general, I would not advise you ever to substitute the sign, but when it is impossible to shew the thing signified. For the representation engrosses the boy's attention, and makes him forget the thing represented.

The armillary sphere appears to me an ill-contrived, disproportioned machine. The confused circles and whimsical figures, which are delineated on it, give it the air of necromancy, and prove a bugbear to children. The earth is too small, the circles are too large and too numerous; some, as the colures, are absolutely useless; each circle is larger than the

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earth; their thickneſs gives them an air of ſolidity, which occaſions their being taken for real circular maſſes; and when you tell a boy that theſe are imaginary circles, he is quite puzzled; he neither knows what he ſees, nor underſtands what you ſay to him.

We have not as yet learnt to ſuppoſe ourſelves in the place of children; we do not enter into their notions, but make them conform to ours; and ſtill following our own way of reaſoning, we fill their heads with extravagance and error, blended with a conſiderable number of truths.

It is a queſtion, whether the analytic or ſynthetic method be preferable in the ſtudy of the ſciences. It is not always neceſſary to abide by either. Sometimes you may reſolve and compound in the ſame enquiry, and direct your pupil by the ſynthetic method, when he fancies he is only analyſing. Then by employing both indifferently, they will ſerve to confirm each other. Setting out at the ſame time from two oppoſite points, without thinking to perform the ſame journey, he will be agreeably ſurprized to find that both ways lead to the ſame object. Suppoſe, for inſtance, I wanted to teach him geography, I would begin at its two extremes, and unite the ſtudy of the revolutions of the globe to the meaſurement of its parts, beginning from the place we inhabit. While your pupil is buſied in the ſtudy of the ſphere, and ſoaring to the celeſtial bodies, bring him down to the diviſion of the earth, and ſhew him the ſpot where he ſojourns.

His two firſt points of geography ſhould be the town he lives in, and his father's country ſeat; next to theſe, he ſhould obſerve the intermediate places on the road, then the neighbouring rivers, then the ſun's aſpect, and the manner of finding out the eaſt of the place you are in. This is the point of re-union. Let him make a map from this ſurvey, beginning ſimply with the two objects only, then gradually adding the others, as he comes to know or eſtimate their diſtance

diſtance and poſition. You ſee what advantage we have procured him beforehand, by furniſhing his eye with a compaſs.

Notwithſtanding this advantage, you muſt direct him a little, and but very little, without his knowing it. If he is miſtaken, let him proceed, do not ſet him right. Patiently wait till he is capable of ſeeing and of correcting his error himſelf; or, at the moſt, take a favourable opportunity, by introducing ſome operation, to convince him of it. Were he never to be miſtaken, he would not learn ſo well. It is not, however, intended at preſent that he ſhould be thoroughly inſtructed in the topography of the country, but that he ſhould know the means of acquiring that inſtruction; it is of little ſignification, whether he has the maps in his head, provided he has a clear idea of the object they repreſent, and of the art of conſtructing them. See the ignorance of my Emilius! How great the difference between him and your learned pupils! They underſtand maps; and he is capable of conſtructing them. From hence alſo he is ſupplied with new ornaments for his apartment.

Remember always, that the deſign of my method of education is, not to learn my pupil a great variety of things, but to take care that he ſhall acquire none but preciſe and clear ideas. Were he to be altogether ignorant, it ſignifies nothing, provided he imbibes no errors: to guard him againſt theſe, I enrich his mind with truths. Reaſon and judgment advance but ſlowly; prejudices croud in very faſt, and we muſt endeavour to ſtem the torrent of the latter. But if you regard ſcience on its own account, you launch into an unfathomable, boundleſs ocean, from the perils of which it will be impoſſible for you to eſcape. When I ſee a man, ſeduced by the charms of univerſal knowledge, and leaping continually from one ſcience to another, I fancy to myſelf I behold a child gathering ſhells on the ſea-ſhore.

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He firſt begins to fill his pockets without any choice; tempted by the ſight of others more beautiful, he throws the former away, then goes on taking and rejecting, till fatigued and confounded in his judgment, he concludes with flinging them all away, and returns home empty-handed.

During the earlieſt part of infancy, we had too much time on our hands; for which reaſon, we endeavoured to loſe it, for fear of its being miſemployed. But here it is quite the contrary; we have not ſufficient leiſure for every uſeful purſuit. Remember the paſſions are advancing apace, and as ſoon as they knock at the door, your pupil will pay no attention but to them. The period of calm intelligence flies away with ſuch rapidity, and has ſo many other neceſſary uſes, that it is a folly to imagine it ſufficient to acquire much learning. The buſineſs at preſent is not to teach your pupil the ſciences, but to give him a taſte for thoſe ſtudies, and to point out the method of learning them, when this taſte is improved. This is certainly the fundamental principle of a good education.

Now is the time for accuſtoming him gradually to fix his attention on the ſame object; yet this attention muſt never be the effect of conſtraint, but of curioſity and pleaſure; you muſt take particular care, that it does not keep him too long on the ſtretch, ſo as to occaſion diſguſt. Let your eye be ever upon the watch, and let what will happen, break all off before he is ſurfeited; for it is not of ſo much importance that he ſhould learn any ſcience at all, as that he ſhould do nothing by compulſion.

If he puts a queſtion to you himſelf, make ſuch an anſwer as ſhall keep alive, but not ſatisfy, his curioſity: eſpecially when you perceive, that inſtead of deſiring inſtruction, he trifles only, and fatigues you with a thouſand fooliſh queſtions, ſtop him immediately, for you may be ſure he does not trouble his head about the ſubject, but only wants to teize you with his

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his impertinence. You ſhould have leſs regard to the words, than to the motives of his inquiry. This precaution has not been as yet ſo neceſſary; but now it becomes of the utmoſt importance, as ſoon as your pupil begins to reaſon.

There is a chain of general truths, by which all the ſciences are connected to common principles, and ſucceſſively unfolded. This is the method of philoſophers; but we have nothing to do with it at preſent. There is another chain of quite a different kind, whereby every particular object is connected to another, and always points to the next in ſucceſſion. This order is a conſtant ſource of curioſity; it keeps up the attention required by the ſeveral objects, and is the method followed by grown perſons; but eſpecially it ought to be uſed by children. When we found out the eaſt of our ſituation, to delineate our maps, we were obliged to trace a meridian. The two points of interſection, found by ſhadows of equal length in the morning and evening, will give an excellent meridian for an aſtronomer only thirteen years old. But this meridian is ſoon effaced; it requires ſome time to trace it, and obliges a perſon to perform his operations always on the ſame ſpot. So much care and conſtraint will diſguſt your pupil at laſt. This inconvenience we foreſaw, and provided againſt it.

Behold me again involved in a long and unimportant detail. Reader, I hear thy murmurings, and diſregard them: I will not ſacrifice the moſt uſeful part of this book to thy impatience. Take thy remedy, in regard to my prolixity; for I have taken mine, in reſpect to thy complaints.

Long had my pupil and I perceived, that ſtraw was attracted by divers bodies, after being properly rubbed, as amber, glaſs, wax; and that by others it was not attracted. By chance we met with one, which had ſtill a more extraordinary virtue; this was to attract fileduſt and bits of iron at ſome diſtance, and without friction. How often were we amuſed with this at-

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tractive property, without obſerving any uſe in it. At length we found that the magnetic quality was communicated to the ſteel itſelf, touched to a certain degree. We happened one day to go to a neighbouring fair, where a juggler, holding a piece of bread in his hand, attracted a duck of wax, ſwimming about in a baſon. We were very much ſurprized, but did not ſay he was a conjurer; for we did not underſtand the nature of witchcraft. Continually ſtruck with effects, without being able to unravel their cauſe, we ſuſpend our judgment of things, and quietly remain in our ſtate of ignorance, till an opportunity offers to deliver us from it.

By the time we got home, we had talked ſuch a vaſt deal of the juggler's legerdemain, that we reſolved to imitate the duck: for this purpoſe we took a large needle, touched with the loadſtone, and covered it with wax, which we moulded as well as we could into the ſhape of a duck; ſo that the needle paſſed through the body, from the beak to the tail. We then laid it upon the water, and putting a key near the beak, with a joy which you may eaſily conceive, we found that our duck followed the key exactly as that of the juggler ſwimmed after the piece of bread. To obſerve in what direction the duck ſtops in the water, when it is ſuffered to be at reſt, is an affair we can do at any other time. But being quite full of our firſt object at preſent, we think of nothing farther.

The ſame evening we returned to the fair, with a piece of bread properly prepared in our pocket; and as ſoon as the juggler had performed his trick, my little philoſopher, who could hardly contain himſelf all the while, told him, that the performance was not at all difficult, for he himſelf could do as much: he was taken at his word. Immediately he drew the piece of bread, with the concealed iron, out of his pocket: as he approached the table, his heart was ſeized with a great palpitation; he preſented the bread,

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bread, almoſt trembling with fear; the duck came, and followed it; Emilius cried out, and leaped with joy. What with clapping of hands, and the acclamations of the company, the boy's head grew giddy, and he had almoſt loſt his ſenſes. The juggler, quite thunderſtruck, approached nevertheleſs to wiſh him joy, and embracing him in his arms, deſired he would honour him the next day with his preſence, adding, that he would take care to aſſemble a greater number of people, to witneſs and applaud his uncommon abilities. My young naturaliſt, elated with his ſucceſs, would fain prattle; but inſtantly I ſtopped his mouth, and carried him off triumphant.

In the mean time, my pupil reckoned every minute with a ridiculous inquietude. He invited every body he met, and would have been glad that all mankind were ſpectators of his glory: impatient to mount the ſtage, he anticipated the hour, and flew to the place appointed, where the hall was already thronged. Entering the place, his little heart began to flutter. There were to be other feats of ſkill, previous to this; the juggler ſurpaſſed himſelf, and performed wonders. The boy took no notice of all this; he was in ſome agitation, the ſweat ran down his face, and he could hardly draw his breath; all the while he kept fumbling in his pocket, and held the bit of bread with an impatient, but trembling, hand. At length it came to his turn, and the maſter proclaimed the exhibition aloud with great ceremony. My pupil, ſomewhat abaſhed, drew near, and pulled out his bit of bread. .... But, what a ſtrange viciſſitude in human affairs! The duck, but yeſterday ſo tame, is grown wild to-day; inſtead of preſenting its beak, it turned its tail, and ſwam away, flying from the bread, and from the hand that preſented it, with the ſame celerity as before it had followed them. After many ineffectual trials, attended with ſhouts of deriſion, the boy complained that he was impoſed upon, that

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it was another duck, ſubſtituted in the room of the former, and challenged his antagoniſt himſelf to try his ſkill upon this.

The juggler, without making any reply, took a piece of bread out of his pocket, and preſented it to the duck; the latter followed the bread, and approached the hand by which it was attracted. The youth took hold of the ſame piece of bread, but, inſtead of ſucceeding better than before, he perceived the duck make game of him, and move in circles round the baſon; at length, the boy withdrew quite confuſed, not daring any longer to ſtand the hiſſing of the populace.

Thereupon the juggler took the piece of bread, which my boy had brought with him, and made uſe of it with the ſame ſucceſs as he did his own: then he took out the bit of iron before the crowd, which occaſioned another laughter at our expence; and with the bread, though ſtripped of the iron, he drew the duck in the manner as before. The ſame thing he performed with another bit of bread, cut by a third hand; he did as much afterwards with his glove, and with the tip of his finger. At length, removing to the middle of the room, with an emphaſis peculiar to ſuch ſort of gentry, he declared the duck would obey his voice, as well as his geſture: accordingly he ſpoke, and the duck obeyed; he bid it go to the right, and it went to the right; to come back, and it came back; to turn about, and it turned about; the motion as rapid as the command. The repeated applauſes of the people were juſt ſo many outrages to us; we made off unperceived, and ſhut ourſelves up in our apartment, without going to proclaim our ſucceſs to all the world, as we originally intended.

The next morning ſomebody knocked at the door; I opened it, and found it was the juggler. He complained very modeſtly of our behaviour; he would willingly know what he had done to diſoblige us, that we ſhould depreciate his performance in the eye of

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of the people, and rob him of his livelihood? And what great wonder is there in attracting a duck of wax, that you ſhould purchaſe this honour at the expence of an honeſt man's ſubſiſtence? Faith, gentlemen, had I any other way of getting my bread, I ſhould not boaſt of this. You may imagine, that a man, who has ſpent his days in following this wretched trade, knows more of the matter than you, who practiſed it but a few minutes. If I did not exhibit the maſter-pieces of my dexterity at firſt, it was becauſe I thought it not right to be in a hurry to diſplay my riches; I always took care to reſerve my beſt tricks for a proper occaſion, and beſides what you have beheld, I have ſtill ſome more to check the indiſcretion of young people. However, I am come, gentlemen, to acquaint you with the ſecret, which puzzled you ſo much, begging you will not divulge it to my prejudice, but be more reſerved another time.

Saying this, he ſhewed us his machine, and, to our great ſurprize, we perceived, that it conſiſted only of a powerful magnet, which was moved about by a boy under the table, unperceived by the ſpectators.

The man put up his machine again, and, after we had given him many thanks, and made our apologies for what had paſſed, we offered him a preſent, which he refuſed! "No, gentlemen, ſaid he, I cannot "ſufficiently commend your conduct, to accept of "your preſents; I am pleaſed that you are obliged "to me againſt your will; and that is all my re- "venge. Learn from hence, that there is genero- "ſity to be found in all ſtates and conditions. I "make people pay for my exhibitions, but not for "my inſtructions."

As he was going out, he addreſſed himſelf particularly to me, and made me the following reprimand. "I can eaſily excuſe, ſaid he, that child; he ſinned "through ignorance. But you, Sir, who muſt "have

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" have known the nature of his fault, how could
" you permit him? Since you live together, you, as the
" eldeſt, ſhould have adviſed him; your experience
" is the authority by which he ought to have been
" directed. If ever he comes to condemn himſelf
" in his riper years for the errors of his youth, you
" may be ſure he will reproach you for thoſe which
" were owing to your neglect."

Theſe words being ended, he left us both very much confuſed. I blamed myſelf for my fooliſh indulgence; promiſing the youth, I would ſacrifice at another time to his intereſt, and admoniſh him of his faults before he committed them: for the time is approaching, when our relations muſt alter, and the ſeverity of the maſter muſt ſucceed to the complaiſance of the companion: this alteration ſhould be introduced by degrees, and, like every other, muſt be provided for in time.

The day following we returned to the fair, to ſee the ſlight of hand, which had been explained to us. With a profound reſpect, we approached our Socrates, the juggler; ſcarce did we preſume to lift up our eyes in his preſence; he treated us with the utmoſt civility, and aſſigned us ſo honourable a place at the exhibition, that we were quite confounded. He performed all his tricks as uſual; but he amuſed himſelf a long time with that of the duck, looking at us frequently with an air of ſeverity. We underſtood the whole, but ſaid not a word. If my pupil would have preſumed to open his mouth, his maſter would have cruſhed him in pieces.

The long detail of this example is of greater importance, than one would imagine at firſt ſight. How many leſſons are contained in this one! How many mortifying conſequences occaſioned by a firſt emotion of vanity! Young preceptor, watch this emotion with care: If you can render it productive of humiliation and diſgrace, it will be a long time before he

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he repeats the ſecond. What an apparatus! you will ſay. I grant you, and all to make us a compaſs, which ſhall ſupply the place of the meridian.

Having learnt that the magnet acts through other bodies; we were in great hurry to make a machine like that of the juggler. For this end we ſet a large flat baſon on a table, and filled it with water; then we put our duck into it which we had ſhaped a little better than the former, &c. Fixing our attention round the baſon; at length we obſerved that the duck, when at reſt, always preſerved nearly the ſame direction. We followed this experiment; and examining the direction, we found it was from ſouth to north: no more was wanting; we diſcovered our compaſs, or what was equivalent to it; and behold we launched into phyſics.

There are different climates on the earth, and different temperatures in thoſe climates. The ſeaſons vary more ſenſibly, in proportion as we draw nearer the pole: all bodies are contracted by cold, and dilated by heat; an effect more commenſurable by fluids, and more eſpecially by ſpirituous liquors; this was the origin of the thermometer. The wind blows in our face, therefore the air is a body and a ſenſible fluid; though there is no poſſibility of ſeeing it. Turn a drinking-glaſs upſide down in the water, the liquid will not fill it, unleſs you leave a paſſage for the air to eſcape; the air is therefore capable of reſiſtance: preſs the glaſs ſtill harder downwards, and the water will gain upon the air, without being able entirely to fill up this ſpace; the air is therefore capable of ſome degree of compreſſion. A ball filled with compreſſed air rebounds better than one repleniſhed with any other ſubſtance; hence we find the air is an elaſtic body. When you are ſtretched at full length in a bathing-tub, if you lift your arm in an horizontal poſition out of the water, you will feel it loaded with a very heavy weight; the air is then a heavy body, and may be weighed againſt other fluids: this

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this produced the invention of the barometer, the ſyphon, the wind-gun, and the air-pump. The laws of ſtatics and hydroſtatics are diſcovered by ſuch ſimple experiments. I would not have my pupil enter the cabinet of an experimental philoſopher. All that apparatus of inſtruments and machinery is diſagreeable to me. A ſcientific air deſtroys the ſcience. Such a multitude of engines either frighten the boys, or their figures weaken that attention, which he ought to pay to their effects.

I ſhould be for conſtructing all our machines ourſelves; and would not begin to make the inſtrument before the experiment; but after we had fallen upon the latter, as it were by chance, we ſhould by degrees invent an inſtrument to confirm it. I had much rather our inſtruments were not ſo complete and accurate, and we had clearer ideas of what they ought to be, as alſo of their reſpective operations. For my firſt leſſon in ſtatics, inſtead of ſeeking for a balance and ſcales, I lay a ſtick acroſs the back of a chair; I meaſure the length of both ends, when it is equally balanced; on each end I hang ſometimes equal, ſometimes unequal, weights; then drawing the ſtick towards me, or puſhing it away as occaſion requires, I find at length, that the equilibrium reſults from a mutual proportion between the weights and the length of the levers. Thus is my little philoſopher capable of rectifying a balance before he has beheld one.

There is no manner of doubt, but a perſon acquires much clearer and ſurer ideas of the things which he learns of himſelf, than of thoſe for which he is beholden to inſtruction. Beſides that his reaſon is not accuſtomed ſervilely to ſubmit to authority, he becomes more ingenious in diſcovering relations, in connecting ideas, and in inventing machines; whereas, by adopting the contrivance of others, the underſtanding ſinks into a ſtate of dullneſs and ſupinity, like the man who having a number

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ber of ſervants to dreſs him, and a coach and horſes to carry him about, at length is deprived of the uſe and activity of his limbs. Boileau boaſted of having taught Racine to rhime with difficulty: among ſuch a number of admirable methods to abridge the ſtudy of the ſciences, we ſtand greatly in need of one that would ſhew us how to learn them with leſs facility.

The chief benefit ariſing from theſe ſlow and laborious reſearches, is to maintain the body, during a courſe of ſpeculative ſtudies, in its full activity, and to form the hands inceſſantly to labour, or to employments of public advantage. The invention of ſuch a number of inſtruments to direct us in our experiments, and to ſupply the deficiency of the ſenſes, is the cauſe of our neglecting to exerciſe the latter. The theodolite makes it unneceſſary to eſtimate the extent of angles; the eye which uſed to meaſure diſtances exactly, relies on the chain; the ſteel-yard diſpenſes with my judging of a weight by my hands. The more ingenious our inſtruments, the more our organs become rude and imperfect; by aſſembling ſuch a number of machines, we find no reſource within ourſelves.

But when to conſtruct theſe machines we make uſe of that ſagacity and addreſs which are requiſite to do without them, then indeed we ſuſtain no loſs, but are conſiderable gainers; for by adding art to nature, we become more ingenious, without loſing our dexterity. Inſtead of tying a boy down to his books, I would employ him in a workſhop; his hands would be buſied to improve his mind; he would become a philoſopher, while he imagined himſelf only an artiſan. In ſhort, this practice is attended with other uſes, of which hereafter, and we ſhall ſee in what manner philoſophical entertainments lead to the exerciſe of the proper functions of humanity.

I have

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I have already taken notice, that ſpeculative ſciences are ſeldom fit for children, even drawing towards puberty; but without entering with them very deeply into a ſyſtem of phyſics, ſee that their experiments be connected to one another by ſome chain of deduction, to the end that they may range them in their minds, and recollect them whenever there is occaſion: for it is difficult for facts, or even ſeparate concluſions, to continue long in the memory, without ſome thread or connection of ideas.

In your reſearches into the laws of nature, begin always with the moſt common and moſt obvious phænomena; and accuſtom your pupil not to conſider them as arguments, but as mere facts. I take up a ſtone, and pretending to lay it in the air, I open my hand, and the ſtone falls to the ground; I look at Emilius, who is very attentive to what I am about, and I aſk him, how came that ſtone to fall?

What child in the world would be puzzled at ſuch a queſtion? None, not even Emilius, had I not taken care to prepare matters ſo, that he ſhould not know how to anſwer. They will all ſay the ſtone falls, becauſe it is heavy: and what is heavy? that which falls. Then the ſtone falls, becauſe it falls. Here my young philoſopher is aground. This is my firſt lecture in natural philoſophy, and whether it improves him in this branch of learning or not, it is certainly a leſſon founded on good ſenſe.

In proportion as the boy ripens in underſtanding, conſiderations of higher importance oblige us to be more careful in regard to the choice of his occupations. As ſoon as he acquires a ſufficient degree of ſelf-knowledge, ſo as to conceive in what his real welfare conſiſts, or becomes capable of apprehending ſuch an extent of relations, as to judge of what is ſuitable to his preſent ſtate; from that moment he is in a condition of perceiving the difference between labour and amuſement, and of looking upon the latter only as a relaxation from the

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the former. Then it is that objects of real utility may be admitted into his ſtudies, and engage him to apply himſelf more conſtantly to them, than he would to mere amuſement. The law of neceſſity ever recurring to the mind, inſtructs us betimes to do what is diſagreeable, to prevent our receiving a ſtill greater diſguſt. Such is the uſe of forecaſt; on the good or bad regulation of which depends all the happineſs or miſery of mankind.

Every individual would be happy; but to attain this end, we ſhould begin with knowing in what true happineſs conſiſts. The natural felicity of man is as ſimple as his manner of life; it conſiſts in being free from pain: health, liberty, and neceſſaries conſtitute this felicity. The moral happineſs of man is another thing; but it is not of this we are treating at preſent. It is a truth I cannot too often repeat, that nothing but objects purely phyſical are capable of engaging the attention of children, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe vanity has not been excited, and who have not been already corrupted by the prejudices of opinion.

When once they foreſee their wants, their underſtanding is pretty far advanced, and they begin to know the value of time. It is then a matter of importance to direct the application of it to ſtudies of real utility, ſuch however as ſhall be adapted to their age and capacity. Subjects relating to the moral order, and the purpoſes of ſociety, ought not to be laid before them ſo early; for they ſurpaſs their preſent degree of underſtanding. It is mere folly to require they ſhould apply themſelves to things, becauſe we tell them vaguely that thoſe things are for their good, without their knowing in what this good conſiſts; or becauſe we aſſure them that thoſe things will greatly redound to their profit, when they grow up to man's eſtate, while they have no intereſt in them at preſent, and no idea of a future advantage.

Let

Let a child do nothing upon truſt; nothing is good in regard to him but what he perceives to be ſuch. By anticipating his natural knowledge, you imagine you are acting with foreçaſt; but you are miſtaken. To ſupply him with a few idle inſtruments, for which perhaps he will never have occaſion, you deprive him of the moſt univerſal and uſeful of all others, that of good ſenſe; you accuſtom him to ſuffer himſelf to be always conducted, and to be a mere machine in the hands of others. You are willing he ſhould be docile while he is young; this is deſiring he ſhould be a credulous fool when he is ripened in years. You are continually making uſe of theſe words: *All I deſire of you, is for your own good, but you are not as yet capable of knowing it.' What is it to me, whether you do what I require of you or not? It is for yourſelf only you are doing it.* With theſe fine ſpeeches you intend at preſent to make him wiſe, but you only pave the way for the artful diſcourſes of ſome projector, conjurer, falſe prophet, or any other kind of knave; who will endeavour to catch him in their ſnare, or perſuade him to adopt their folly.

It is very fit a man ſhould be acquainted with a variety of things, the utility of which is above a child's comprehenſion? but is it neceſſary, or even poſſible, a child ſhould learn every thing it behoves a man to know? Endeavour to teach a boy whatever is uſeful to one of his years, and you will find him full employment. Why ſhould you, in prejudice to the ſtudies fit for his preſent ſtate, make him apply himſelf to ſuch as are ſuitable only to an age, which he is ſo uncertain of ever attaining? But will it be time, you ſay, to learn what is proper for him to know, juſt when he has occaſion to make uſe of his knowledge? I cannot tell, but I am very certain, it is impoſſible for him to learn it ſooner; for our real maſters are experience and ſenſation; and man is never truly ſenſible of what is ſuitable to his eſtate,

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but from the circumſtances he has been under. A child knows that he is formed to be a man; all the different ideas he is capable of having, in regard to man's eſtate, are to him ſo many opportunities of inſtruction; but with reſpect to the ideas of that ſtate ſurpaſſing his reach, he ought to remain in abſolute ignorance of them. The preſent work is one continued proof of this principle of education.

As ſoon as we have been able to give our pupil an idea of the word *uſeful*, we have a conſiderable check upon him for his better government: for this is a term that makes a ſtrong impreſſion upon his mind, as it bears a ſignification adapted to his age, and he clearly ſees its relation to his preſent welfare. Common boys are not ſtruck with this expreſſion, becauſe no care has been taken to give them an idea of it, ſuitable to their capacity; beſides, as others always take upon them to provide them with what is uſeful, they never have occaſion to think of it themſelves, and therefore they know not the nature of utility.

What is that good for? This muſt be henceforward the ſacred phraſe and the deciſive queſtion between my pupil and me on all occaſions; this the anſwer, which we ſhall ſurely give to all his interrogations; and it may ſerve as a curb to that multiplicity of fooliſh and impertinent queſtions, with which children are inceſſantly teizing every body about them, rather to exerciſe a kind of authority, than for the ſake of improvement. A boy, whoſe chief leſſon is to know nothing but what is uſeful, will interrogate like Socrates; he will not propoſe a queſtion, without giving of his own accord the reaſon, which he knows he ſhall be aſked, before his queſtion is reſolved.

How powerful an inſtrument I put into your hands, to work upon your pupil! As he knows not the reaſon of any one thing, you may reduce him to ſilence whenever you pleaſe: and, on the other hand,

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how great the advantage, which your derive from your knowledge and experience, to convince him of the utility of whatever you propose! For, miſtake me not, your aſking him this queſtion, is the way for him to aſk it of you in his turn; and you may depend upon this, that whenever you propoſe any thing to him hereafter, he will not fail to copy your example, and to ſay, *What is this good for?*

This perhaps is the moſt difficult ſnare for a governor to avoid. If, upon the boy's aſking you a queſtion, you only endeavour to evade it, by giving him a reaſon not adapted to his capacity, he will judge that you reaſon from your own, and not from his ideas; and therefore will conclude, that what you call good is ſuitable to your own age, but not to his; hence he will no longer confide in you; and then all is over. But where is the maſter, who would ſtop ſhort, and acknowledge his error to his diſciple? All preceptors make it a law not to confeſs their real errors; but, for my part, I ſhould chuſe rather to affect ignorance, when I find it impoſſible to accommodate my reaſons to a boy's capacity. My conduct being then clear and unimpeached in his mind, would never incur his ſuſpicion, and I ſhould acquire more credit with him by pretending ignorance, than they by concealing theirs.

In the firſt place, remember, that it is very ſeldom your province to propoſe what he is to learn; it is his buſineſs to deſire, to ſeek, to find; yours to place the object within his reach, artfully to excite the deſire, and to furniſh him with the means of ſatisfying it. From hence it follows, that your queſtions ought to be leſs frequent, but well choſen: and as he will have occaſion to propoſe a great many more to you, than you to him, you will be leſs expoſed to his attacks, and be oftener entitled to ſay to him, *Of what uſe is it to know what you aſk?*

Beſides, as it is of very little conſequence for him to learn this or that particular thing, provided he has

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a right conception of what he learns, and of its real uſe; when you happen not to have an explanation adapted to his years, you had better give him none at all. Say to him, without heſitation or ſcruple, I cannot make you a ſatisfactory anſwer; I was miſtaken; let us talk of ſomething elſe. If your inſtruction was improper, there is no harm in abſolutely giving it up; otherwiſe, with a little care, you will ſoon find an opportunity to convince him of its utility.

I do not approve explanatory diſcourſes; young people pay but very little attention to them, and ſeldom retain them in their memory. Let us come to the things themſelves: I cannot repeat it too often, that we lay too great a ſtreſs upon words; our babbling education produceth nothing but babblers.

Suppoſe that while my pupil and I are ſtudying the courſe of the ſun, and the manner of finding out the place of its riſing, he interrupts me on a ſudden to aſk me, *of what uſe is that?* What a pompous diſcourſe might I make him! What a number of fine things might not I take the opportunity of enlarging upon, eſpecially if there were witneſſes to our converſation*! I might talk to him of the utility of voyages, the advantages of commerce, the particular productions of each climate; of the manners of different nations, of the uſe of the calendar, of the calculation of the ſeaſons for the purpoſes of agriculture, and of the art of navigation. Politics, natural hiſtory, aſtronomy, ethics, and the law of nations, might be all taken into my diſcourſe, in order to give my pupil an high idea of the ſciences, and to inſpire him with a ſtrong deſire of learning them. When I had ſaid all I could, I

* I have often heard it obſerved, that they who give learned inſtructions to children, do not concern themſelves ſo much about being heard by them, as by the grown perſons, in whoſe preſence they are delivered. What I affirm, I am very certain of, for I have often made the experiment myſelf.

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ſhould only have diſplayed my pedantry, of which my pupil would not underſtand one word. He would be very deſirous to aſk me again, of what uſe is it to find out the eaſt of a place; but he durſt not, for fear of offending me. He finds his account much better in pretending to underſtand what he has been obliged to liſten to. Thus are your polite educations conducted.

But as our Emilius was brought up in a more ruſtic manner, and we have taken ſuch pains to render him ſlower in apprehenſion, he will not pay the leaſt attention to any thing of this. At the firſt word he did not underſtand, he would turn aſide, and play about the room, leaving me to finiſh my harangue by myſelf. Let us ſeek out for a more obvious ſolution: my ſcientific apparatus is of no ſignification to him.

We were obſerving the ſituation of the foreſt to the north of Montmorency, when he interrupted me with his troubleſome queſtion, *of what uſe is this?* You are in the right, ſaid I, we muſt think of it at our leiſure; and if we find that this enquiry is good for nothing, we will reſume it no more, for we do not want uſeleſs amuſements. We fell then upon ſome other thing: and there was no more talk of geography during the reſt of the day.

The next morning I propoſed to him to take a walk before breakfaſt: he deſired nothing better. Boys are always ready for running about, and mine has good ſtout legs. We entered the foreſt, traverſed the open fields till we loſt our way, not knowing whereabouts we were; and when it was time to return, we could not tell which road to purſue. The heat of the day advanced; we grew hungry and impatient, and wandered about from one ſide to the other, among woods, quarries, and extenſive plains, but could meet with no direction whatever. Overheated, and quite ſpent with fatigue and hunger, the longer we rambled, the more we were bewildered. At length we ſat down, to reſt ourſelves, and to con-

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conſider what was beſt to be done. Emilius, whom I ſuppoſe to be educated in the ſame manner as another boy, does not deliberate about the matter, but falls a crying; he is ignorant that we are juſt by the gates of Montmorency, and that only a narrow copſe conceals it from our eye: but this copſe is a foreſt to him; one of his years and ſtature is buried in the buſhes.

After a few minutes ſilence, I ſaid to him with an air of inquietude, My dear Emilius, how ſhall we do to get out of this foreſt?

Emilius, all in a ſweat, and crying bitterly. I know nothing of the matter; I am tired, I am hungry; I am thirſty; I can hold out no longer.

Rouſſeau. Do you take me to be in a better condition than you? or do you imagine I ſhould not cry too, could I breakfaſt upon tears? Our buſineſs is not to weep, but to find out our way. Let us ſee your watch; what o'clock is it?

Emilius. It is twelve o'clock, and I have not breakfaſted.

Rouſſeau. True; it is twelve o'clock; neither have I broke bread to-day.

Emilius. Then you muſt be exceeding hungry.

Rouſſeau. Yes; but the miſchief is, my dinner will not come to look for me in this place. It is twelve o'clock. This was exactly the hour at which we obſerved the ſituation of this foreſt from Montmorency; if we could but obſerve, in like manner, the ſituation of Montmorency from this foreſt.....

Emilius. True; but yeſterday we beheld the foreſt, and we cannot ſee the town from hence.

Rouſſeau. There is the miſchief..... If we could but find out its ſituation without ſeeing it...

Emilius. O my good friend!

Rouſſeau. Did we not ſay that the foreſt was.....

Emilius. To the north of Montmorency.

Rouſſeau. Therefore Montmorency muſt be....

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Emilius. To the ſouth of the foreſt.

Rouſſeau. We have a way to find out the north at noon.

Emilius. Yes, by the direction of our ſhadow.

Rouſſeau. But the ſouth?

Emilius. How is that to be done?

Rouſſeau. The ſouth is oppoſite to the north.

Emilius. That is very true; we have only to look for the direction oppoſite to our ſhadow. O, there is the ſouth, there is the ſouth! Surely Montmorency muſt be on this ſide; let us try this way.

Rouſſeau. You may be in the right; let us follow this path acroſs the wood.

Emilius, clapping his hands, and ſhouting for joy. Ah! I ſee Montmorency! there it is before us: I ſee it quite plain. Come along, let us get our breakfaſt; let us go and dine; let us make haſte. Aſtronomy, I find, is good for ſomething.

Obſerve, that if he does not make uſe of the latter expreſſion, it will be in his thoughts; and it does not ſignify which, provided he has it not from me. Now you may depend upon it, that never while he breathes will he forget this day's leſſon; whereas, if I had only ſuppoſed all this in his apartment, my diſcourſe would have been forgot the next day. We ſhould therefore ſpeak as much as poſſibly we can by action, and never ſay thing but what we cannot do.

The reader, I hope, does not imagine, that I have ſuch a contempt for his abilities, as to give him an example on each kind of ſtudy: yet let the ſubject be what it will, I cannot too ſtrongly adviſe my governor to proportion his proof to the capacity of his pupil; for, as I ſaid before, the miſchief does not conſiſt in his being totally ignorant, but in his imbibing erroneous opinions.

I remember that I wanted to give a child a taſte for chemiſtry; after ſhewing him ſeveral metalline precipitations, I explained to him the manner of making ink. I told him, that its blackneſs was owing to the par-

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particles of iron, ſeparated from the vitriol, and precipitated by an alcaline fluid. In the midſt of my learned explication, the little rogue ſtopped me quite ſhort with my own queſtion, which he had learnt of me; upon which I found myſelf very much embarraſſed.

After I had conſidered a while, I took the following method to ſatisfy his curioſity *. I ſent down for ſome wine into the cellar, and ordered an inferior ſort at eight ſous a bottle to be brought from a tavern. I took a little phial full of a ſolution of fixed alcali; then having ſome of each of thoſe wines in two glaſſes before me, I ſpoke to him as follows.

It is cuſtomary to adulterate ſeveral commodities, in order to make them appear better than they really are. Theſe adulterations impoſe upon the eye and the palate; but are pernicious to health, and render the adulterated commodity, notwithſtanding its appearance, a great deal worſe than it was before.

The commodities moſt frequently adulterated are liquors, and eſpecially wines; the reaſon is, that the fraud is more difficult to detect, and more advantageous to the deceiver.

The adulteration of tart or eager wines is made with litharge, which is a preparation of lead. The lead united to acids produces a very ſweet ſalt, which corrects the ſourneſs of the wine, but is a downright poiſon to thoſe who drink it. Therefore, before you drink a wine ſuſpected of adulteration, it is neceſſary to know, whether any litharge has been put into it or not. Now, in order to this diſcovery, I reaſon in the following manner.

Wine not only contains an inflammable ſpirit, as you have obſerved by the brandy diſtilled from it, but

* At every experiment exhibited to children, it is proper to make a little preparation, as it contributes to raiſe their attention.

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alſo an acid, as you may have ſeen by the vinegar and tartar, which are alſo extracted from it.

The acid has an attraction to metallic ſubſtances, and unites with them by ſolution, to form a compound ſalt; ſuch, for inſtance, as the ruſt of iron, which is nothing more than the metal diſſolved by the acid contained in the air or water, and ſuch alſo as verdigriſe, which is nothing but copper diſſolved by vinegar.

But this ſame acid has a ſtronger attraction to alcaline than to metallic ſubſtances, inſomuch, that by the intervention of the former, in compound ſalts of which I have been ſpeaking, the acid is obliged to ſeparate from the metal to which it was before united, in order to adhere to the alcali.

Then the metallic ſubſtances being ſeparated from the acid, which kept it in a ſtate of ſolution, is precipitated, and renders the liquid opaque.

If therefore either of thoſe two wines be adulterated with litharge, its acid keeps the litharge diſſolved. If I pour ſome of the alcaline liquid to them, it will force the acid to ſeparate from the metal, in order to unite to itſelf; the lead being no longer kept diſſolved, will appear again, diſturb the liquid, and at length be precipitated to the bottom of the glaſs.

If there be no lead *, nor any other metal in the wine, the alcali will unite quietly † with the acid, the whole will be diſſolved, and there will be no precipitation at all.

* The wines retailed by the vintners at Paris, though they be not adulterated with litharge, yet are ſeldom free from lead; for thoſe people's implements are made of that metal, and the wine, in paſſing through the meaſure, and adhering to the lead, always diſſolves ſome part of it. I am very much ſurprized, that an abuſe of ſo manifeſt and dangerous a tendency ſhould be ſuffered by the police. But it is very true, that people of fortune ſeldom drink of thoſe wines, and therefore are not much ſubject to be poiſoned.

† The vegetable acid is very mild; were it a mineral acid, the union could not be made without fermentation.

I then

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I then poured my alcaline liquid ſucceſſively into both glaſſes; that which contained the houſe-wine remained clear and tranſparent, the other in a moment became foul, and in about an hour the lead was plainly ſeen precipitated to the bottom.

There, ſaid I, is the pure natural wine, which may be drunk with ſafety: and here the adulterated, which is rank poiſon. This diſcovery is made by that ſcience, of whoſe utility you deſired to be informed. He, who knows how to make ink, is alſo capable of detecting adulterated wine.

I was very well pleaſed with my example, yet I perceived the child was not ſtruck with it. It required ſome time for me to ſee, that I had only been playing the fool. For, not to mention the impoſſibility that a child of twelve years of age ſhould comprehend my explication, the utility of this experiment did not at all enter into his head; becauſe having taſted of both wines, and found them both good, he had no idea of this word *adulteration*, which I thought I had ſo clearly expounded to him: neither did he underſtand the other words *unwholeſome* and *poiſon*; he was in the ſame ſituation as the little hiſtorian of Philip the phyſician; which muſt be the caſe indeed of all children whatever.

The relations of effects to cauſes, whoſe connexion we do not perceive; the goods and evils, of which we have no idea; the wants which we have never felt, are nothing at all in regard to us, and conſequently have no influence over our conduct. At the age of fifteen we look upon the happineſs of wiſdom, as we do upon the glory of heaven at thirty. If we have no conception of either, we ſhall take very little trouble to obtain them; and even had we an idea of them, ſtill we ſhould take juſt as little, unleſs they were capable of exciting our deſires. It is an eaſy matter to convince a child, that what you intend he ſhould learn will be uſeful to him; but it ſignifies nothing to convince his underſtanding, unleſs you have

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have likewiſe the art to perſuade his will. In vain does calm reaſon induce us to approve or condemn; the paſſions alone can make us act: and how is it poſſible for us to have a paſſion for things, in which we are not as yet intereſted?

Never point out any thing to a child, which it is impoſſible for him to comprehend. While he is yet almoſt a ſtranger to humanity, as you cannot raiſe him to a ſtate of manhood, level this ſtate to his capacity. When your thoughts are employed about what may be uſeful to him at another period of life, talk to him only of what he ſees attended with preſent utility. But above all, never draw any compariſons between him and other children; let him have no rivals nor competitors, not even at running. When he begins to reaſon, I had much rather he never learned any knowledge at all, than acquire it by means of jealouſy or vanity. I ſhould only take notice to him annually of the progreſs he had made that year, and compare it to what I expect from him the year following; I ſhould tell him, you are grown ſo much; there is the ditch you jumped over, the load you carried, the diſtance you flung a ſtone, or the ground you run over without fetching your breath; let us ſee what you are able to do at preſent. Thus would I encourage him, without raiſing his jealouſy; he would deſire, and he ought, to ſurpaſs himſelf; and I ſee no inconveniency in his being his own rival.

I have an averſion to books; they only inſtruct us to talk beyond our knowledge. Hermes is ſaid to have engraved the elements of the ſciences on columns, in order to ſecure his diſcoveries from being loſt in a deluge. Had he imprinted them in the minds of men, they would have been preſerved by tradition. The brain, duly prepared, is the monument, in which all human knowledge is beſt engraved.

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Is there no poſſibility of collecting the great variety of inſtructions diffuſed through ſuch a multitude of volumes? No means of uniting them under one common head, which may be viewed with eaſe, purſued with profit, and even ſerve as a ſpur and encouragement to youth? Could we imagine a ſituation in life, in which all the natural wants of man were repreſented in a manner obvious to the capacity of a child, and the means of providing againſt thoſe wants were ſucceſſively diſplayed with the ſame facility, a lively and ingenuous deſcription of that ſtate ſhould be the firſt thing in which we ought to exerciſe his fancy.

Impetuous philoſopher! I ſee your imagination already upon the wing: give yourſelf no trouble; ſuch a ſituation has been found out already; a deſcription of it has been publiſhed, and without any diſparagement to your abilities, much better than you would have done it, at leaſt with more exactneſs and ſimplicity. Since we muſt have books, there is one, which, in my opinion, is a moſt excellent treatiſe on natural education. This is the firſt my Emilius ſhall read; his whole library ſhall long conſiſt of this work only, which ſhall preſerve an eminent rank to the very laſt. It ſhall be the text, to which all our converſations on natural ſcience are to ſerve only as a comment. It ſhall be a guide during our progreſs to maturity of judgment; and ſo long as our taſte is not adulterated, the peruſal of this book will afford us pleaſure. And what ſurprizing book is this? Is it Ariſtotle, is it Pliny, is it Buffon? No, it is Robinſon Cruſoe.

Robinſon Cruſoe, caſt away upon a deſart iſland, deſtitute of human aſſiſtance, and of mechanic inſtruments, yet providing for his ſubſiſtence and preſervation, and even procuring to himſelf a comfortable ſort of being, is an object intereſting to every age, and may be rendered a thouſand ways agreeable to children. You ſee in what manner

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we realize the defart iſland, which ſerved me at firſt for a compariſon. This ſtate is not, I grant you, that of ſociety; and in all probability it will not be that of Emilius; yet it is by this he ought to eſtimate others. The ſureſt way of raiſing his mind above all ſorts of prejudices, and of regulating his judgment by the true relations of things, is to put himſelf in the place of a man ſeparated from human intercourſe, and to judge of every thing as that man would judge from its real utility.

This romance, ſtripped of all its unneceſſary trappings, beginning at Robinſon's ſhipwreck on the iſland, and concluding with the arrival of the veſſel which brought him away, ſhall ſerve, during the preſent period, both to amuſe and inſtruct Emilius. I would have his head to be quite taken up with it; I would have his thoughts continually employed about Robinſon's houſe, his goats, and plantations; I would have him learn, not from books, but from nature, every thing neceſſary to be known under the like ſituation. Let him perſonate Robinſon himſelf, and wear a coat of ſkins, a broad hat, a large hanger, and, in ſhort, let him imitate his groteſque figure in every thing except the umbrella, for which he will have no occaſion. I ſhould be glad if any thing were wanting for his proviſion or ſecurity, he would ſtudy the means of ſupplying himſelf, and think how Robinſon behaved on the like occaſion; let him examine whether his hero has omitted nothing, and whether another could not frequently have acted better, than he did; let him take particular notice of that adventurer's miſtakes, in order to avoid committing the like; for you may be ſure he will form a project of making ſuch a ſettlement. This is building caſtles in the air; the favourite purſuit of that happy age, when they were ſtrangers to any other felicity than the enjoyment of liberty and of the neceſſaries of life.

How great a reſource would this fancy prove to a man of abilities, who ſhould contrive ſuch a

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ſcheme with a view to improvement. The boy, impatient to erect a magazine for his iſland, would be more eager to learn, than the maſter to inſtruct him. He would be deſirous to know what is uſeful, and nothing further; you would have no occaſion to guide him, but rather to check his ardour. Let us haſten therefore to ſettle him in this iſland, while he confines his felicity to this loneſome reſidence: the time is approaching, when, if he chuſes to continue there, it will not be to lead a ſolitary life; and when Friday, whom he does not ſeem to want at preſent, will not be long ſufficient for his purpoſe.

The exerciſe of the neceſſary arts, which a ſingle man is able to perform, leads to the invention of the arts of induſtry, which require a number of hands. The former may be practiſed by ſolitaries and ſavages; but the latter can take their riſe only in ſociety, and render that ſtate neceſſary. So long as we know no other wants but thoſe of nature, every man is able to provide for himſelf; the introduction of ſuperfluities renders the diſtribution of labour abſolutely neceſſary; for though one man's labour procures but a ſufficiency for his own ſubſiſtence, yet a hundred men working in concert, ſhall earn enough to ſupport two hundred. Whenever therefore one part of ſociety diſcontinue to work, thoſe who are employed in manual labour, muſt ſupply the place of thoſe who indulge an indolent life.

Take particular care never to mention to your pupil any notions of ſocial relations, not adapted to his capacity; but when the connexion of his ideas obliges you to ſhew him the mutual dependance of mankind, inſtead of repreſenting it on the moral ſide, endeavour to divert his whole attention to induſtry and the mechanic arts, which render men uſeful to one another. In walking about with him to different ſhops, never ſuffer him to behold any kind of mechanic work without lending a hand; nor to ſtir out of

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of the shop without being able to give an account of every thing done there, or at least of every thing he has observed. For this purpose, you must work yourself, you must set him an example; to make a master of him, you must be every where the apprentice; and depend upon it, he will learn a great deal more from an hour's work, than from the verbal instructions of a whole day.

The public esteem is annexed to several arts in an inverse ratio to their real use. This esteem is directly measured by their inutility, and must be so according to the present state of things. The most useful arts are the least profitable, because the number of workmen is proportioned to the wants of society, and a labour of general use to all mankind must necessarily remain at a price which the poor are able to pay. On the contrary, those artisans, who think themselves of such importance as to be distinguished by the name of artists, and work entirely for the indolent and the wealthy, set an arbitrary value upon their baubles; and as the excellence of those trifles consists merely in opinion, their very price constitutes part of their merit, and they are esteemed in proportion to what they cost. The value which the opulent set upon them, is not founded in their utility, but in this, that the indigent cannot come up to their price. *Noli habere bona, nisi quibus populus invideri* *.

What will become of your pupils, if you suffer them to be warped by this ridiculous prejudice; if you encourage it yourself; if, for instance, they see you enter with more respect a jeweller's shop than that of a locksmith? What judgment shall they be able to form of the merit of the arts, and of the real value of things, when upon all occasions they see whim and caprice opposed to real utility; and find that the more a thing costs, the less it is intrinsically worth? As soon as you perceive they have adopted those foolish no-

* Petron.

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tions, you had better have nothing more to do with their education. In ſpite of your utmoſt endeavours, they will turn out like the reſt of the world, and you will have only loſt your time, after fourteen years labour.

Emilius, attentive to furniſhing his iſland, will view things in another light. Robinſon Cruſoe would have ſet a much greater value on an ironmonger's ſhop, than on all the trinkets in the beſt toy-ſhop at Paris.—The former would have appeared to him a moſt reſpectable perſon, the owner of the latter no better than a mountebank.

"My ſon, you will ſay, is deſigned for the world; "not to live with ſages, but with fools; he muſt there- "fore be acquainted with their follies, ſince by theſe "they are influenced. The real knowledge of things "may be very good; but that of men and opi- "nions is ſtill better; for in ſociety, the only way "to manage mankind, is to know their weak ſide; "and the wiſeſt is he who makes the beſt uſe of "this knowledge. Of what avail is it to give "children the idea of an imaginary order of things, "quite the reverſe of that which cuſtom has eſta- "bliſhed, and by which they muſt regulate their con- "duct? Teach them firſt of all to be wiſe, and "then you may inſtruct them to judge in what re- "ſpect the reſt of mankind are fools."

Such are the ſpecious pretences, under which the falſe prudence of parents endeavours to render their children ſlaves and dupes to that giddy vulgar, whom they intend to deceive. To attain the knowledge of mankind, what a number of things muſt be previouſly known! Man is the laſt ſtudy of the philoſopher; and you pretend to make him the firſt of a child! Before you pretend to inſtruct him in your own ſentiments, you ſhould learn him to eſtimate them. Can they be ſaid to know folly, if they take it for reaſon? To be wiſe, we ſhould diſtinguiſh what is not ſo; how will your child acquire

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acquire a knowledge of mankind, if he knows not how to judge of their ſentiments, or to unravel their errors? It is a misfortune for him to know what they think, when he is ignorant whether their conceptions be true or falſe. Teach him therefore, in the firſt place, what thoſe things are in themſelves; afterwards you may let him know what they are in the eye of the public; thus he will be able to draw a compariſon between opinion and truth, and to raiſe himſelf above the vulgar: for we know not thoſe prejudices which we adopt; neither are we able to govern the multitude when we imitate their follies. If you begin with acquainting your pupil with the public opinion, before you have taught him to ſet a right value on it, you may aſſure yourſelf, do whatever you will, he will adopt it as his own, and it will be impoſſible afterwards to remove it. To conclude this ſubject, you may eſtabliſh it as a rule, that to render a youth ſenſible and judicious, it is neceſſary to form his judgment, and not to bias him with ours.

You ſee, that hitherto I have made no mention of mankind to my pupil; his good ſenſe would not permit him to underſtand me; his relations to his ſpecies are not as yet ſufficiently ſtriking for him to judge of others by himſelf. He knows no human being but his own perſon, and even this knowledge is very imperfect: yet if his deciſions, in regard to his individual, are but few, at leaſt they are juſt. He knows not the proper ſituation of others; but he feels his own, and abides in it. Inſtead of the ſocial laws, which he is incapable of comprehending, we have bound him by the chains of neceſſity. As yet he is ſcarce more than a phyſical being; and let us continue to treat him as ſuch.

He ought ever to eſtimate the works of nature and art, by their ſenſible relation to his own advantage, preſervation, and ſafety. Thus iron ſhould, in his eye, be of far greater value than gold, and glaſs than

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than diamonds. In like manner, he has more reſpect for a ſhoemaker or a maſon, than for an emperor, or for all the jewellers in Europe; a paſtry-cook eſpecially, is a perſon of great importance in his opinion, and he would change the whole academy of ſciences for the meaneſt confectioner in the *rue des Lombards* *; goldſmiths, engravers, and gilders, are in his eye no more than idle fellows who amuſe themſelves in uſeleſs toys; he does not even ſet any great value on watchmaking. The happy youth enjoys time, without being a ſlave to it; he profits by it, and knows not its value. His conſtant tranquillity of mind renders its ſucceſſion always equal to him, and ſerves him inſtead of an inſtrument to meaſure it †. In ſuppoſing him to have a watch, or to ſhed tears, I only imagined a vulgar pupil, to make myſelf underſtood; for in regard to the real Emilius, a youth ſo differently educated from every body elſe could hardly in any caſe be propoſed as an example.

There is another order equally natural and ſtill more judicious, by which the arts are conſidered, according to the neceſſary relations by which they are connected, placing in the foremoſt rank the moſt independent, and in the laſt all thoſe which depend on the greateſt number of others. This order furniſhes us with very important conſiderations on that of ſociety in general, and like the preceding, is ſubject to the ſame inverſion in the eſteem of mankind: for thoſe who are firſt employed in working the materials, are of mean trades that have little profit; but the more hands they paſs through, the more reputable the manufacture becomes, and the more it increaſes in value. I ſhall not examine whether it be true, that the induſtry is greater and more worthy of

* A ſtreet in Paris.

† Time loſes its meaſure in regard to us, when our paſſions would fain regulate its courſe. The wiſe man's watch is equality of temper and tranquillity of mind; he is always in his own time, and knows it extremely well.

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recompence in the elegant arts, which give the laſt hand to theſe materials, than in the original labour by which they are converted to common uſe; but I affirm, that in all caſes whatever, the art moſt generally and indiſpenſably neceſſary, is certainly moſt deſerving of our eſteem; and that which has leſs occaſion for the aſſiſtance of other arts, is ſtill more valuable than thoſe which are more ſubordinate, from its greater freedom and independency. Theſe are the juſt rules for eſtimating the arts and induſtry; all others are arbitrary and dependent on human opinion.

Of all the arts, the firſt, and indeed the moſt reſpectable, is that of agriculture: I ſhould place the ſmith in the ſecond; the carpenter in the third; and ſo on. A child that has not been biaſſed by vulgar prejudices, would judge exactly in the ſame manner. What a number of important reflections on this very ſubject, may not our Emilius draw from his Robinſon Cruſoe? What will he think upon ſeeing that the arts and manufactures are perfected only by being ſubdivided, and by multiplying inſtruments *in infinitum*? He will ſay to himſelf, all thoſe people are fooliſhly ingenious; one would imagine they are afraid leſt their arms and their fingers ſhould be of any uſe to them, ſince they invent ſuch a number of inſtruments to render them unneceſſary. To follow a ſingle mechanic trade, they muſt be dependent on a thouſand others; each artiſan requires a whole town to provide him with tools. As for my companion and myſelf, we place our ingenuity in our dexterity; we make tools for ourſelves, which we are able to carry about with us, wherever we go. Were all theſe fine artiſts in Paris, who are ſo vaſtly conceited of their abilities, to come to our iſland, they would be quite at a loſs, and obliged to ſerve an apprenticeſhip under us.

Confine not your obſervation, reader, to our pupil's bodily exerciſe, and manual dexterity; but conſider what direction we give to his youthful curioſity; remark

remark his good ſenſe, his invention, his ſagacity, and in ſhort all his intellectual accompliſhments. In whatever he beholds, or does, he muſt know the whole, he muſt be acquainted with the reaſon of every thing; from one inſtrument to another, he gradually reaſcends to the firſt, he admits nothing upon ſuppoſition; he refuſes to learn what requires any præcognita, or a previous knowledge, of which he is not poſſeſſed. If he ſees a ſpring, for inſtance, he wants to know in what manner the ſteel has been worked up from the ore; if he is preſent at the fitting of the ſides of a cheſt, he is deſirous to find out in what manner the timber was felled; if he works himſelf, whenever he takes a new tool in hand, he reflects and ſays: in caſe I had not this tool, how ſhould I have contrived to make ſuch another, or to do without it?

It is a very common miſtake for a maſter, who takes a liking to a particular occupation, to ſuppoſe his pupil has the ſame taſte for it as himſelf: have a care, leſt while you are fully amuſed with your preſent exerciſe or labour, the boy ſhould be tired of it, and dare not explain his mind. Your pupil ſhould give his whole application to the thing; but you ſhould give yours entirely to him; you ſhould continually watch and obſerve his motions, without his knowing it; you ſhould even anticipate his thoughts, and prevent him from harbouring improper ſentiments; in ſhort, you ſhould employ him in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould not only be ſenſible of his abilities, but be greatly pleaſed with his preſent labour, by being convinced of its utility.

The intercourſe of the arts conſiſts in the exchange of induſtry; that of commerce in the exchange of commodities; that of bankers in the exchange of bills and money: all theſe things are connected, and their elementary ideas are already ſettled; we have laid the foundation of the whole in the early part of infancy, by the aſſiſtance of Robert the gardener. No-

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thing farther remains, than to render theſe ideas more general, and to extend them to a greater number of examples, in order to make our pupil comprehend the nature of commerce. This may be illuſtrated by the natural hiſtory of each country, by an enumeration of the arts and ſciences relating to navigation, and laſt of all, by the conveniency of tranſporting goods, according to the diſtance of places, the ſituation of lands, ſeas, rivers, &c.

No ſociety can poſſibly ſubſiſt without having recourſe to exchange; exchange requires a common ſtandard; and this an equality. Hence the primary law of all ſociety is ſome conventional equality, either in men or in things.

The conventional equality among men, is very different from that of nature, and therefore occaſions a neceſſity for poſitive laws; that is, for civil government. The political knowledge of a child ought to be very clear, but confined; he ought to know no more of government in general, than what relates to the right of property, of which he has already ſome idea.

The conventional equality in things, has produced the invention of money; for money is no more than the means of comparing the value of things of different kinds; and in this ſenſe it is the real bond of ſociety. But every thing may be money; formerly cattle were applied to that uſe, as ſhells are ſtill among ſeveral nations: iron was uſed as coin in Sparta, leather in Sweden, like gold and ſilver in our countries.

Metals being the moſt convenient for carriage, have been generally pitched upon as the mean term of all exchanges; and theſe metals have been converted into ſpecie, to ſave the trouble of meaſuring and weighing at every exchange. For the ſtamp imprinted on the coin, is only to witneſs, that the piece thus marked is of ſuch a weight; hence the ſovereign alone has a right to coin money, becauſe none but he has a right to inſiſt that his teſtimony ſhould be a ſtandard authority to the whole nation. The

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The uſe of this invention, explained in the above manner, is obvious to every capacity. I own it is difficult immediately to compare things of different ſpecies, cloth, for inſtance, with corn: but when once we have found a common ſtandard, namely, money, it is an eaſy matter for the manufacturer and the huſbandman to reduce the value of the commodities, which they want to exchange, to this common ſtandard. If ſo many yards of cloth be worth ſuch a ſum of money, and ſo many buſhels of corn be exactly of the ſame value, it follows, that the merchant receiving this corn for his cloth makes a fair exchange. Thus it is that commodities of different kinds become commenſurate, and may be compared by money.

Proceed no farther, and avoid entering into an explication of the moral effects of this inſtitution. In all things whatever it is proper to point out the uſe, before you ſhew the cauſe. Should you pretend to explain to children, in what manner the ſign has been the cauſe of neglecting the thing, how all the whims and extravagancies in opinion took their riſe from money, how countries abounding in ſpecie muſt be deſtitute of real wealth, you would treat thoſe children not only as philoſophers, but as men of ſenſe and wiſdom, and pretend to make them underſtand what very few philoſophers ever did.

To what a variety of intereſting ſubjects may we thus direct the curioſity of our pupil, without ever loſing ſight of the real and ſenſible relations within his reach, or exciting a ſingle idea in his mind, which he is incapable of conceiving? The maſter's buſineſs is never to dwell on frivolous minuteneſſes, but to bring his pupil nearer to the great relations, which it is incumbent on him one day to know, in order to form a right judgment of the good and bad order of civil ſociety. You muſt adapt your converſation to the particular turn of mind you have given him. A queſtion that would ſcarce ex-

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cite attention in another perſon, would embarraſs Emilius during the ſpace of ſix months.

We went to dine at a perſon of fortune's; where at our arrival we found the preparations of a grand feaſt, a large company, a number of domeſtics, a variety of diſhes, and an elegant ſideboard of plate. So ſplendid an exhibition of feſtivity and pleaſure has ſomething in it very intoxicating to thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to the ſight. I foreſaw the effect of all this upon my young pupil. In the midſt of the entertainment, while the plates were removing, and jocund mirth went round the table, I whiſpered in his ear, and aſked him, how many hands do you imagine were employed in preparing this ſumptuous exhibition? Theſe few words raiſed a croud of ideas in his mind. Immediately his revery ſubſided. He began to reflect, to calculate, and to puzzle his brain: while philoſophers, inſpired by generous wine, or perhaps by the fair ladies who ſat next them, grew fooliſh in their talk, and acted the parts of children, my pupil ſat philoſophizing by himſelf, at one corner of the table; he aſked me ſome queſtions, which I refuſed to anſwer, deferring it to another time; his curioſity increaſed, and he loſt all thoughts of eating and drinking; in ſhort, he burnt with impatience for dinner to be over, that we might converſe with leſs reſtraint. What an object for his curioſity! What a text for his inſtruction! With a judgment ſo ſound and incorrupt, what muſt he think of our preſent luxury, when he comes to find that all the countries in the world have been ranſacked, that twenty millions of hands perhaps have been a long time at work, and many thouſands have perhaps loſt their lives, and all this to preſent to him in great pomp at noon, what he will diſcharge himſelf of at night.

Be ſure you mind what inferences he draws in his own breaſt from all his obſervations. If you have not taken ſo much care of him, as I ſuppoſe you

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have, he may be tempted to give his reflections another turn, and to look upon himself as a person of great importance, by seeing such vast pains taken to procure him a dinner. Should you be aware of this kind of reasoning, you may easily prevent it, or, at least, you may presently efface its impression. As he knows not how to appropriate things, but by their enjoyment, he is incapable of judging of their fitness or unfitness, in regard to himself, any other way than by sensible relations. Upon comparing so magnificent and formal a repast, to a plain country dinner, prepared by exercise, and seasoned by appetite, freedom, and mirth; and reflecting, that from that whole parade of festivity he received no real advantage, but that he was as well satisfied at a peasant's table, as at the financier's, he is sufficiently convinced, that there was nothing more at the one, than at the other, which he could truly call his own.

Let us imagine what a governor might be able to say to him in such a case. Recollect well those two repasts, and determine within yourself which of them afforded you the greatest pleasure, at which of them you observed the most sparkling joy? At which the company eat with the greatest appetite, drank with most gaiety, and burst into the most hearty fits of laughter? Which lasted the longest without tiring you, and without requiring a change of courses? Yet, observe the difference; that brown bread, which you think so excellent, is made of the corn sown and reaped by the peasant's own hand; his thick wine, so refreshing and wholesome, is the juice of his own grape; his linen comes from his own flax, spun in the winter by his wife, his daughters, and his servant-maid; no other hands than those of the family have provided for his table; the next mill and the first market-town are to him the boundary of the world. What then have you really enjoyed, of all that had been spread on the other table by such a variety of hands, and from such distant

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parts of the earth? If all that magnificence did not improve your repaſt, what did you gain by ſuch profuſion? What was there made for you? Even had you been maſter of the houſe, he might add, this magnificence could not ſtrictly be reckoned yours; for the anxiety of the exhibition would have deprived you of the enjoyment; you would have had all the trouble, and your gueſts all the pleaſure.

This diſcourſe may be very fine, but it is nothing at all to Emilius, as it exceeds his capacity; and we are not to dictate his reflections. You muſt therefore talk to him in a more ſimple manner. After thoſe two experiments, ſay to him ſome morning, Where ſhall we dine to-day? Round that mountain of plate, which covered three fourths of the table, and thoſe parterres of artificial flowers, which were ſerved up at the deſſert on looking-glaſſes? With thoſe women in monſtrous hoop-petticoats, who treat you like a puppet, and inſiſt upon your having ſaid what you really do not know? Or in that village, two leagues from hence, with thoſe good people, who gave us ſo hearty a welcome, and treated us with ſuch excellent cream? I have no ſort of doubt about me, concerning Emilius's choice; for he is neither loquacious nor vain; beſides, he cannot bear conſtraint, and he likes none of thoſe fine ragoos: but he is always ready to run about the fields, and is vaſtly fond of good fruit, good vegetables, good cream, and good people *. During our walk, the reflection

* The fondneſs which I ſuppoſe my pupil to have for the country, is a natural conſequence of his education. Beſides, as he has nothing of the coxcomb or fop, he is leſs agreeable to the women on that account, and conſequently leſs taken notice of by them, than other youths; on the other hand, he is leſs amuſed, and leſs corrupted in their company; the charms of which he is as yet incapable of feeling. I have avoided learning him to kiſs their hand, to talk nonſenſe to them, or even to expreſs himſelf with that civility, which is due to the ſex preferable to ours: for I made it an inviolable rule never to exact any thing from him, the reaſon of which he was incapable of underſtanding; and there is no good reaſon, why a child ſhould pay more reſpect to one ſex than the other.

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will come of itſelf. I perceive he will ſay, the number of people employed in preparing thoſe grand entertainments, either loſe their labour, or have no notion of our enjoyments.

My examples, though proper perhaps for one ſubject, may be of no uſe for a thouſand others. If you enter into the ſpirit of them, you will ſoon know how they may be varied according to different occaſions; their application depends on knowing the genius of each youth; and this knowledge is connected with the opportunities they have of giving proofs of their abilities. It is not to be imagined, that, in the ſpace of three or four years, which fill up this period, we are capable of giving, even the moſt promiſing youth, ſuch an idea of the arts and ſciences, as ſhall enable him to learn them without any other aſſiſtance: but by this repreſentation of the ſeveral objects, which it behoves him to know, we ſhall put him in a ſituation to diſplay his taſte and abilities by degrees, to take the firſt ſteps towards the object to which his genius leads him, by which means we ſhall be able to chalk out the road he is to purſue, in order to ſecond the deſigns of nature.

Another advantage ariſing from this chain of limited, but juſt, ideas, is to repreſent them to his view by their ſeveral connexions and relations, to arrange them properly in his eſtimation, and to prevent his entertaining thoſe prejudices that moſt people have for the talents they cultivate, in oppoſition to thoſe they have neglected. He who has a comprehenſive view of the whole, ſees the right place of every part; he who ſees only a part, but knows it well, may be deemed a learned man; the other only is a man of judgment; and you may remember, that the chief aim in our method of education is, not to acquire ſcience, but judgment.

However that may be, the preſent method is independent of my examples; it is founded on the proportion of the human faculties to different ages, and

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on the occupations ſuitable to thoſe faculties. I believe one might eaſily hit upon another method, which ſhould appear more plauſible; but if it be leſs adapted to our ſpecies, age, and ſex, I queſtion whether it will meet with the ſame ſucceſs.

On entering upon this ſecond period, we availed ourſelves of the ſuperabundance of our abilities to our wants, in order to launch beyond ourſelves: we have ſoared into the heavenly regions; meaſured the earth; deduced the laws of nature; in a word, we ſurveyed our whole iſland: now we return home, and inſenſibly approach our own habitation. Happy upon our entrance, if we do not find the enemy ſtill hovering in the neighbourhood, and threatening to make himſelf maſter of the place.

What remains to be done, after having ſurveyed the ſeveral objects that ſurround us? To make uſe of whatever we can appropriate, and to render our curioſity ſubſervient to our advantage. Hitherto we had provided implements of every kind, not knowing which we ſhould want. Perhaps theſe may be uſeleſs to us, but ſerviceable to others; and, on the other hand, it is poſſible we may have occaſion for theirs. We ſhould therefore find our account in making an exchange; but for that end, we ought to be acquainted with our mutual neceſſities; each man ſhould know what the others have that may be of uſe to him, and what he has to offer them in return. Suppoſe ten men, each of whom was in want of ten different things. To obtain the neceſſaries of life, each muſt apply to ten different kinds of labour; but, on account of the difference of genius and abilities, one will not be ſo expert in ſome of theſe branches of labour, and another perſon in others. They are all qualified for different branches, yet as they are all employed in the ſame, they will be ill ſerved. Let us form a ſociety of thoſe ten men, and each perſon follow for himſelf, and the other nine, that kind of occupation which ſuits him beſt; each will profit by the abilities

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abilities of the others, as if he himself were poſſeſſed of them all; each will improve in dexterity by conſtant exerciſe, and will not only completely provide for himſelf, but have a ſuperfluity to ſupply the wants of others: this is the apparent principle of all our inſtitutions. It is not my buſineſs here to enquire into the conſequences; this I have done already in another performance.

Upon this principle, a man that would conſider himſelf as a ſolitary being, quite unconnected with the world, and ſufficient for his own preſervation and happineſs, could not avoid being miſerable. Nay, it would be impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt; for finding the whole earth divided into *meum* and *tuum*, and having nothing of his own but his perſon, from what quarter could he draw his ſubſiſtence? In quitting the ſtate of nature, we compel all our fellow-creatures to do the ſame; no ſingle perſon can remain therein in ſpite of the reſt; and it would be really acting againſt nature to pretend to continue in that ſituation, under an impoſſibility of ſubſiſtence. For the firſt law of nature, is that of ſelf-preſervation.

Thus are the ideas of ſocial relations gradually formed in the mind of a youth, even before it is poſſible for him to be an acting member of ſociety. Emilius perceives, that to acquire inſtruments for his own uſe, he muſt alſo have ſome for the uſe of others, which he may exchange for ſuch things as he wants, and are in their poſſeſſion: it is an eaſy matter to make him ſenſible of the neceſſity of thoſe exchanges, and to ſhew him how to convert them to his advantage.

My lord, I muſt live, ſaid a wretched libeller to a miniſter, who reproached him with the infamy of his profeſſion. *I ſee no neceſſity for it*, replied the miniſter with the greateſt indifference. This reply was excellent for a ſtateſman, but would have been unjuſt and barbarous in the mouth of any other perſon. Every man muſt live. This argument, which has

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has more or leſs weight with every man, in proportion to his humanity, appears to me unanſwerable in regard to him who urges it. Since of all the averſions we receive from nature, the ſtrongeſt is that to dying, it follows, that every thing is permitted in the view of ſelf-preſervation, to him who has no other poſſible means of ſubſiſting. The principles on which a virtuous man learns to contemn life, and to ſacrifice it to his duty, are very different from this primitive ſimplicity. Happy people! among whom one may be good without ſelf-denial, and juſt without virtue! If there is ſuch a wretched government upon earth, as that wherein it is impoſſible for a man to live without injuſtice, and where the citizens are obliged to be knaves, it is not the malefactors that ought to be hanged, but he who drove them into thoſe vicious courſes.

As ſoon as Emilius comes to know what life is, my firſt care ſhall be to learn him how to preſerve it. Hitherto I have made no diſtinction of ſtate, rank, or fortune; and I ſhall ſcarce take any notice of them hereafter; becauſe man is the ſame in every ſituation; the rich have not better ſtomachs than the poor, nor a quicker digeſtion; the maſter has not longer nor ſtronger arms than the ſlave; a grandee is not taller than a common perſon; in a word, the natural wants being every where the ſame, the means of providing for them ought to be every where equal. Let the education of a man be adapted to his nature, and not to external circumſtances of fortune. Do not you perceive, that by endeavouring to form him excluſively for one particular ſituation, you render him unfit for any other; and that it may ſo turn out from the viciſſitudes of life, that your labour has only contributed to make him unhappy? What is more ridiculous than a great lord reduced to beggary, who, even in his miſery, retains the prejudices annexed to his birth? What can be more abject than a man fallen from affluence, ſenſible of the diſ-

grace

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grace of poverty, and seeing himself reduced to the lowest misery? The resource of one is to turn a common cheat, that of the other to become a cringing valet, with this fine motto in their mouths, *We must live.*

You confide in the present state of society, without reflecting, that this is subject to inevitable revolutions, and it is impossible for you either to foresee or prevent that which may happen to your children. The great may have a fall; the rich may become poor; the monarch may be reduced to a subject. Are these unprosperous strokes of fortune so rare that you should pretend to be exempt from them? We are drawing near a crisis, near the age of revolutions *. Who can answer what is to become of you then? All that has been settled by men, they may unsettle; there are no indelible characters, but those imprinted by nature; and nature never made princes or nobility. How will that great peer be able to behave when debased to poverty, whom you educated only to magnificence and grandeur? What will become of that opulent financier, who can eat out of nothing but gold, when all his gold is vanished? How miserable the fate of that supercilious weak creature, who, destitute of every thing, knows not the use of his limbs, and places his whole satisfaction in objects extraneous to himself? Happy he, who has learnt to quit the state which is quitting him, and continues a man in spite of fortune! Let others bestow what encomiums they please on that vanquished king, who in the transport of fury wanted to bury himself under the ruins of his throne; for my part, I despise him; I find he existed only by means of his

* I look upon it as impossible for the great monarchies of Europe to be of long continuance; they have all of them made a flourishing figure, and every state that flourisheth, is upon the decline. I have other reasons to corroborate my opinion; but it is not proper to mention them, although they are but too obvious.

crown,

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crown, and that if he had not been a king, he had been nothing at all. But he who is ſtripped of a crown, and is ſtill himſelf, is ſuperior to all worldly dignity. From the rank of a king, which a coward, a knave, or a fool, may fill, he mounts to that of a man, which ſo few are capable of filling. Then he triumphs, then he defies the viciſſitudes of fortune: he depends on himſelf alone; and when he has no more than his perſon left, he is ſtill ſomething. Yes, I infinitely prefer the king of Syracuſe in his reduced ſtate of a ſchoolmaſter at Corinth, and the king of Macedonia in that of a notary in Rome, to the unfortunate Tarquin, to whom life is a burden, if he be not permitted to reign; or to the heir of a ſovereign of three kingdoms, become the ſport of every one who dared to inſult his miſery, wandering from court to court in ſearch of ſuccours, and meeting every where with inſolence and affront; and all for want of knowing how to follow any other employment, than that to which he has been brought up, and which is no longer in his power.

No man whatever has any thing more than himſelf to give to ſociety; every other kind of property belongs to it already; if he be bleſſed with affluence, either he does not enjoy it, or the public partake of his enjoyment. In the former caſe, he only robs others of what he deprives himſelf; and even in the latter, he gives them nothing. Thus the debt he owes to ſociety, remains undiſcharged ſo long as he pays it out of his eſtate. But my father, you will ſay, in acquiring a fortune, ſerved the public. Be it ſo; then he diſcharged his own debt, but not yours. You are more indebted to ſociety, than if you were born poor, becauſe from your nativity you were favoured by fortune. It is not fair, that what one man has done for the public, ſhould excuſe another from what he owes on that account: every man being obligated entirely for himſelf, can pay but for himſelf; and no father can tranſmit to his ſon a right

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right of being useless to his fellow-creatures; yet this is what he does, according to your notion, by appointing him heir to his wealth, the proof and reward of his labour. He who eats the bread of idleness steals it; and a pensioner whom the government pays for doing nothing, differs but little in my opinion from a robber, who lives at the expence of the unguarded passenger. In a state of nature, man being indebted to no body, has a right to live as he pleases; but in society, where he must necessarily be maintained at the expence of others, he owes them his labour for his support; this admits of no exception. It is therefore the indispensable duty of every person in society to work. Every idle subject, be he rich or poor, strong or weak, is a knave.

Of all occupations capable of affording sustenance to man, that which comes nearest the state of nature, is manual labour: of all conditions the most independent of fortune and human caprice, is that of the artisan. His sole dependance is his labour; he is as free as the husbandman is a slave; for the latter is confined to his grounds, the produce of which is at the discretion of others. The enemy, the prince, a powerful neighbour, a law-suit may deprive him of those grounds; and from the very nature of his possession he may be vexed and harassed a thousand different ways: but when an artisan is oppressed, his baggage is soon packed up, his subsistence is in his hands, with which he marches off. Yet agriculture is the principal occupation of man; it is the most honourable, the most useful, and consequently the noblest employ he can follow. I do not bid my Emilius apply himself to agriculture, he understands it already; every rural labour is familiar to him; with those he commenced, and in those he is incessantly employed. I say to him, therefore, cultivate the inheritance of thy father: but if thou losest this inheritance, or if thou hast none, what is to be done? Learn a trade.

A trade

A trade for my ſon! my ſon a mechanic! Sir, do you know what you are about? Yes, I do, madam, better than you, who would reduce him to the neceſſity of being never any other than a lord, a marquis, a prince, and perhaps one day leſs than nothing; while I would give him a rank, which he can never loſe; a rank, which at all times will do him honour; and, whatever you can ſay, he will have fewer equals in this title, than in all thoſe he may inherit from you.

The letter kills, and the ſpirit giveth life. The point is not ſo much to learn a trade, for the ſake of knowing it, as to overcome the prejudices by which it has been brought into contempt. You will never be reduced, you ſay, to work for a livelihood. Alas! ſo much the worſe! But it does not ſignify, if you do not work through neceſſity, work for glory. Lower yourſelf to the condition of a tradeſman, in order to be above your own. To bring fortune and the viciſſitudes of human affairs under your ſubjection, ſet out with making yourſelf independent of them; to reign by opinion, begin with trampling it under your feet.

Remember it is no fine accompliſhment I deſire you to acquire; it is but a trade, a mere mechanical art, in which the hands labour more than the head; an art which does not conduce to make a fortune, but will enable you to do without one. In families greatly ſuperior to the danger of wanting bread, I have ſeen parents carry their precaution ſo far, as to have their children inſtructed, not only in ornamental learning, but in ſuch uſeful profeſſions, as, at all events, might ſerve to procure them a livelihood. Such parents, in their great wiſdom, imagine, they have done mighty matters; but they are never the nearer; for thoſe reſources which they think to have provided for their children, depend on that ſame fortune of which they would render them independent. So that with all theſe fine accompliſhments, if he, who is poſſeſſed of them, ſhould not happen to have a favourable opportunity of diſplaying them, he will die

die as miſerably, as if he had poſſeſſed none at all.

Suppoſe you are a man of intrigue and know the world, your abilities are as much required to get a genteel livelihood, as to repair a ſhattered fortune. If you cultivate thoſe arts, whoſe ſucceſs depends on the reputation of the artiſt; or if you qualify yourſelf for employs which are obtained by court favour, what will all this avail you, when diſguſted with the world, you deſpiſe the means, without which it is impoſſible for you to ſucceed? You have ſtudied politics, and the intereſts of princes: mighty well; but what will you do with all this knowledge, if you know not how to have acceſs to miniſters of ſtate, to ſome of the ladies at court, or to the commiſſioners of the public offices; if you have not the ſecret of pleaſing them; if you are not the tool they want for their infamous purpoſes? You ſay, you are an architect, or a painter: I ſuppoſe you are; but your abilities muſt be known. Do you think, you can go directly, and hang up your performance in the great hall of the academy? you are miſtaken; things are not conducted in that manner! you muſt be a member of the ſociety; you muſt even be under the protection of ſome great man, to obtain even a place in a corner. Throw aſide your rule and pencil; take coach and drive about from one hotel to another: thus is reputation acquired. Now you muſt know, that all thoſe hotels have portets at the door, who underſtand only by geſture, and whoſe ears are in their hands. Is it your deſign to teach any of the arts or ſciences which you have learned, to give leſſons in geography and the mathematics, to be a teacher of languages, muſic, or drawing? This cannot be done without ſcholars; conſequently you muſt have people to recommend you. Aſſure yourſelf it is of more importance to chatter away and to talk, than to be ſkillful in your profeſſion; and if you know no trade but your own, you will always be ignorant.

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You see how little you are to depend on your fine accomplishments, and how many other requisites there are to render even these of any service. What then must become of you in this abject state? Your misfortunes will not instruct you, but debase your mind; more a sport than ever to opinion, how will you raise yourself above public prejudices, on which your fate depends? How will you be able to despise that mean cringing, and those vices to which you must have recourse for your subsistence? Hitherto you depended on your riches; now your dependance is on the rich; you have changed your condition for the worse, and added servitude to the weight of your misery. Thus you are become poor without liberty, the worst state a man can fall into.

But instead of having recourse for a subsistence to those sublime parts of learning, which were designed rather to nourish the mind than the body; if you fly whenever you have occasion to your hands, and to useful labour, then all these difficulties will disappear. There is then no necessity for art and intrigue; you have a resource at hand, whenever you want to use it; honour and honesty are no longer an hindrance to your livelihood; you have no further occasion to cringe or lie to the great; no occasion to stoop to villains, and to be meanly complaisant to the world; or to borrow or to rob, which is much the same thing, when you are as poor as a beggar. The opinion of others does not affect you at all; you are obliged to make your court to no man; you have no fool to flatter, no servant to bribe, no whore to pay, and what is worse, to flatter. If public affairs are conducted by knaves, it is of little signification to you; this will not hinder you, in your obscurity, from being an honest man, and getting a livelihood. You have only to enter the first shop belonging to the trade you have learnt. *Master*, you will say, *I want business: Sit down, my lad*, he will answer, *and there is work for you.*

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you. Before noon you will have earnt your dinner: and if you are diligent and ſober, before eight days are expired, you will have enough to maintain you eight days longer: thus you will have enjoyed freedom, health, truth, and honeſty: and ſurely it is not loſing time to employ it in this manner.

I muſt therefore inſiſt on Emilius's learning a trade. A creditable trade at leaſt; you will ſay, What do you mean by a creditable trade? Is not every trade of public utility creditable? I would not have him an embroiderer, a gilder, nor a varniſher, like Mr. Locke's fine gentleman; neither do I chuſe he ſhould be a muſician, a comedian, or a ſcribbler. Except the foregoing profeſſions, and thoſe of a ſimilar nature, let him pitch upon whatever he pleaſes; I do not pretend to reſtrain his choice. I had much rather he were a cobler than a poet; or that he ſhould learn to pave the ſtreets and high-ways, than to paint flowers on China. But you will ſay, bailiffs followers, ſpies and executioners, are uſeful people. It depends on the government to make them otherwiſe: but let us proceed, I was miſtaken; it is not ſufficient to chuſe an uſeful trade, it muſt be likewiſe of ſuch a nature, as not to require of thoſe who follow it, ſuch odious qualities of mind, as are incompatible with humanity. Returning therefore to the expreſſion you made uſe of, let us chuſe a creditable trade; but remember always that nothing is really creditable, but what is uſeful.

A celebrated author of this century, whoſe writings abound with extenſive projects and narrow views, had made a vow, like all the prieſts of his communion, never to marry; but being more ſcrupulous than the reſt, in regard to adultery, he is ſaid to have uſed the expedient of keeping likely girls for his ſervants, by whoſe cooperation he repaired, to the beſt of his power, the damage he had done his ſpecies, upon entering into a raſh engagement. He looked upon it as the duty

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of a citizen to ſupply the ſtate with ſubjects; and with this kind of tribute he peopled the claſs of mechanics. As ſoon as the boys were of proper age, he made them learn ſome trade agreeable to their inclination; excluding only ſuch, as may be deemed idle and trifling, or ſubject to faſhion; ſuch, for example, is that of a periwigmaker, which at no time is neceſſary, and one day or other may be diſuſed, ſo long as nature is not tired of covering our heads with hair.

Such is the ſpirit by which we are to be directed, in chuſing a trade for Emilius; or rather it is not we, but he himſelf that ſhould make the choice. For as the maxims he has imbibed, will ever encourage his natural contempt for ſuperfluities, he will not chuſe to waſte his time in works of no ſort of value; and he knows no value in things, but that of their real utility: he muſt learn a trade that might have been of uſe to Robinſon Cruſoe in his deſart iſland.

By giving a child a ſucceſſive view of the productions of nature and art; by exciting his curioſity, and tracing his ſteps under that direction, we have the advantage of obſerving his taſte and inclinations, of ſeeing the firſt ſpark of his genius, and whether he has a turn for any particular profeſſion. But we ought carefully to guard againſt a very common error, which is the attributing an occaſional effect to the warmth of genius, and to miſtake for an inclination to ſuch a particular art, the ſpirit of imitation, ſo common to man and the ape, by which they are mechanically prompted to mimic whatever they ſee done by others, without well knowing to what uſe it conduces. The world abounds with artiſans, and eſpecially with artiſts, who have no natural abilities for the arts they profeſs, to which they were trained from their infancy, either from a view of ſome particular intereſt, or from ſome deceptious appearance of taſte, which they would have equally ſhewn for any other art, had they ſeen as early

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an exhibition of its performances. Such a boy hears the beat of a drum, and thinks himself a general; another sees the workmen employed in a building, and wants to be an architect. Each is tempted by the trade he sees practised, when it appears to be held in esteem.

I knew an instance of a gentleman's servant, who took it into his head to turn limner and history painter, only by seeing his master employed in that art. As soon as he formed this resolution, he took the crayon in hand, which he laid down only to take up the pencil; and this he will never quit during life. Unassisted by instructions or rules, he fell a drawing every thing that came in his way. Three whole years he spent in these wretched daubings, without ever stirring from them, except to wait upon his master, and without being discouraged by the slowness of his progress, the natural consequence of his slender abilities. I have seen him for six months together in a very hot summer, and in a little antichamber open to the south, the very heat of which was enough to stifle a person in going through it; I have seen him, I say, sitting or rather nailed all day to his chair, before a globe, of which he alternately designed and cancelled several drawings with invincible perseverance; till he had done the relievo tolerable enough to be content with his labour. At length by the encouragement of his master, and the direction of an artist, he arrived to such a pitch as to throw off his livery, and to subsist by his pencil. To a certain degree, perseverance supplies the place of abilities; that degree he reached, and will never be able to go beyond it. The constancy and emulation of this honest lad are commendable. He will ever be esteemed for his assiduity, fidelity, and morals; but as for his paintings, he will not go higher than a sign-post. Who would not have been deceived by this passion, and mistaken it for true genius? There is a vast difference between delighting in a particular kind of work, and being qualified

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for it. Obſervations of a more delicate nature than we imagine, are neceſſary to aſcertain the real genius and taſte of a boy, who is more apt to ſhew his preſent deſires, than his habitual inclinations; and we generally judge from the former, for want of remarking the latter. I ſhould be glad that ſome ſenſible perſon would oblige the public with a treatiſe on the art of diſcovering the genius of children. This would be an art of the utmoſt importance, though fathers and mothers have not as yet learnt its elements.

But perhaps we make the choice of a trade, a matter of too great importance. Since it relates only to manual labour, that choice is not of much conſequence to Emilius; his apprenticeſhip is more than half expired, by means of the exerciſe in which he has been hitherto employed. What would you have him do? He is ready to turn his hand to every thing; he knows how to handle the ſpade and the hoe; to make uſe of the lath, the hammer, the plane, and the file; the tools of every trade are familiar to him. All that is further wanting, is to acquire ſuch dexterity in the uſe of thoſe tools, as to rival the beſt workmen of that profeſſion. And in this reſpect, he has a great advantage above other boys, by the agility of his body and the pliancy of his limbs, to throw himſelf into all ſorts of attitudes, and to continue with eaſe in every kind of motion. Beſides, his organs are exact and experienced; and he is already acquainted with the whole mechaniſm of the arts. To work like a maſter, he wants nothing but habit; which is acquired by time. It remains, therefore, to determine to what trade he ſhall particularly apply himſelf, ſo as to become expert in the profeſſion.

Let every man have a trade ſuitable to his ſex and age. All ſedentary domeſtic employments, that enervate the body, are neither agreeable nor proper for youth. Never did a young man from his own inclination aſpire to be a taylor; ſome

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artifice is requiſite to prevail on men to follow a trade, which was deſigned only for women *. The needle and the ſword were not made for the ſame hand. Were I a ſovereign, I ſhould never permit ſewing or needle-work to any but women, or perſons reduced by debility to effeminate employments. Suppoſing a neceſſity for eunuchs, I look upon it as great folly in the oriental nations to make any on purpoſe. Why are they not ſatisfied with thoſe whom nature has rendered impotent; with that herd of daſtardly mortals, whoſe hearts ſhe has emaſculated? Theſe would have more than ſufficed to anſwer their demands. Every puny, timid, delicate male is condemned by nature to a ſedentary life; he is formed to live with females, or after their manner. Let him therefore follow a female profeſſion, I give my conſent; and if it be neceſſary to have real eunuchs, let the operation be performed on thoſe, who diſhonour human nature, by undertaking employments ſo unſuitable to their ſex. Their choice indicates the error of nature; correct that error one way or other, and you will do a conſiderable ſervice to the public.

I debar my pupil from learning unhealthy trades; but I do not extend my prohibition to ſuch as are laborious, or even perillous. For in theſe both ſtrength and courage are exerciſed at the ſame time; ſo that they are proper for men only; women do not pretend to them: how comes it then that the men are not aſhamed to encroach upon thoſe which are followed by women?

Luctantur paucæ, comedunt colliphia paucæ,
Vos lanam trahitis, calathiſque peracta refertis
Vellera †.

If now and then an Amazonian dame
Dares fight a public prize, 'tis ſure leſs ſhame,
Than to behold your unnerv'd ſex ſet in
To needle-work, and like a damſel ſpin. DRYDEN.

* There were no taylors among the ancients; men's clothes were made at home by women. † Juven. ſat. 2.

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In Italy no women are to be seen in the shops; hence it is impossible to imagine any thing more dismal than a prospect of the streets in that country, to those who are accustomed to the gay appearance of the towns in England and France. When I observed those man-milliners, selling ribbands, artificial flowers, lace and gauzes, and other haberdashery wares, to the ladies, I thought those fine ornaments looked extremely awkward and ridiculous, in the coarse hands of sturdy fellows, formed for the smith's bellows and the anvil. I said to myself, the women ought to make reprizals, by setting up sword-cutlers and gunsmiths shops. Fie! let each sex make and retail its own arms: to understand them properly, we should know how to employ them.

Young man, let thy work bear the stamp of thy sex. Learn to wield with a vigorous arm the ax and the saw; to square a piece of timber; to mount the roof; to lay the ridge; and to fit on the joists and scantlings; then call out to thy sister, to come and help thee, as she desired thy assistance at her needle-work.

I am sensible, that I have said too much on this subject for my delicate cotemporaries; but I sometimes suffer myself to be hurried away by the force of my own conclusions. Should any young man whatever be ashamed to work in public, armed with a plane, and girt with a leathern apron, I conclude him a slave to prejudice, one who would be ashamed of virtue and honesty, as soon as it became fashionable to deride them. Let us give way, however, to the prepossessions of parents, in matters not injurious to the understanding of their children. It is not necessary to practise all the useful professions for the sake of doing honour to them all; but it is sufficient to reckon none of them beneath us. When we have our option, and there is no other reason to determine our choice, why should not we consult our own inclination and conveniency in chusing

chuſing among profeſſions of the ſame claſs? Metallic trades are uſeful, nay, the moſt uſeful of all. Yet unleſs there be ſome particular reaſon to determine me, I ſhould not make your ſon a farrier or a blackſmith; I ſhould not chuſe to ſee him at the forge, in the figure of a Cyclops. For the ſame reaſon, I ſhould not chuſe to make a maſon of him, much leſs ſhould he be a ſhoemaker. There muſt be people of all trades; but he who is at his option ought to have a regard to cleanlineſs; for this is not a matter of opinion, it affects our ſenſes. In ſhort, I ſhould not like thoſe ſtupid trades, in which the workmen have no need of ſkill or ingenuity; but are, like mere pieces of clock-work, continually employed in the ſame kind of labour. Such are cloth and ſtocking-weavers, and ſtone-cutters. Of what uſe is it to employ a man of ſenſe in thoſe handicrafts? It is one machine moving another.

Every thing maturely conſidered, the trade I ſhould recommend to my pupil, is that of the joiner; a neat and uſeful employment, that may be followed within doors: it keeps the body in ſufficient exerciſe; it requires ſkill and induſtry in the workman; neither does it exclude elegance and taſte from the form of the work.

If your pupil happens to have a natural turn towards the ſpeculative ſciences, I ſhall not blame your giving him an employment ſuitable to his inclinations, and cauſing him to be taught, for example, to make ſpectacles, teleſcopes, &c.

When Emilius is learning his trade, I ſhould be glad to learn it with him; for I am convinced, that he will never be a complete maſter of any buſineſs, unleſs we learn together. We ſhall both of us ſerve an apprenticeſhip, and not pretend to be treated as fine gentlemen, but real apprentices, who have ſomething more than diverſion in view. Why ſhould not we ſeriouſly engage in this buſineſs? Peter the Great

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Great ſerved as a carpenter in a dock-yard, and as a drummer in his own army: and do you imagine, that this prince was not your equal in birth and merit? You may eaſily perceive I am not talking at preſent to Emilius, but to you, reader, whoever you are.

Unfortunately we cannot ſpend our whole time at work in the ſhop. We are not only apprentices to our trade, but to humanity; and the latter apprenticeſhip is longer and more painful than the former. How ſhall we act? Shall we have a maſter-joiner for an hour in the day, as we hire a dancing-maſter? No, we ſhould not then be apprentices, but diſciples; and our ambition is not ſo much to learn the trade, as to raiſe ourſelves to the condition of a carpenter. I am therefore of opinion, that we ſhould go once or twice at leaſt every week, and ſpend an entire day with our maſter; that we ſhould riſe at his hour; be at work before him, dine at his table, and work under his direction; and, after having had the honour of ſupping with his family, we may return, if we pleaſe, to ſleep in our own hard beds. Such is the method of learning ſeveral trades at once, and of exerciſing ourſelves in manual labour, without neglecting the other apprenticeſhip.

Let us act with ſimplicity in doing good. Let us not encreaſe in vanity, by our endeavours to deſtroy it. To boaſt of having ſurmounted prejudices, is giving way to them. It is reported, that, by an ancient cuſtom of the Ottoman family, the Grand Signor is obliged to practiſe ſome mechanical employment; and every body knows, that the work done by ſo great a ſovereign, cannot be leſs than a maſterpiece. He therefore diſtributes theſe curious productions, in a magnificent manner, to the grandees of his court; and the work is paid for according to the quality of the artiſt. The harm I ſee in this, is not the pretended impoſition of it: on the contrary, this is an advantage. The prince, by obliging the grandees to divide with him the public ſpoils, has leſs occaſion

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occaſion to plunder the people directly himſelf. This is a neceſſary relief to deſpotiſm, without which that horrid government could not poſſibly ſubſiſt.

The real miſchief of ſuch a cuſtom is, the idea it gives that poor man of his merit. Like king Midas, he ſees that whatever he touches is converted into gold; but he does not perceive how it lengthens his ears. To keep thoſe of our Emilius in their proper ſhortneſs, let him have no ſuch wonderful power; let not the value of his labour depend on the workman, but on the work itſelf. Let us never permit any judgment to be formed of his workmanſhip, without comparing it to that of the beſt maſters. Let the performance be eſtimated by its own merit, and not by the reputation of the artiſt. When a thing is well done, we may ſay, *This is well executed:* but do not add, *Who made it?* If he himſelf ſhould ever add with an air of pride and conceit, *It was I that made it*; ſay to him again very coolly, *Whether you or any body elſe made it, is of little conſequence; the work is well done.*

I adviſe every mother to be upon her guard againſt the untruths ſhe may be told, with reſpect to the improvements of her ſon. If he pretends to know a great variety of things, you have reaſon to doubt of his knowledge: if he has the misfortune to be educated at Paris, and to be rich, he is undone. So long as there are able artiſts in that capital, he will have all their abilities; but when he is gone from thence, he will have none at all. At Paris the man of fortune knows every thing; none but the poor are ignorant. That great city abounds in virtuoſos of both ſexes, and eſpecially females, who make their own works, as M. Guillaume invented his colours. I know but three honourable exceptions to this among the men; perhaps there may be more: but I know of none among the fair-ſex, and I queſtion whether there be any. Generally ſpeaking, a reputation is acquired in the polite arts as in the long robe; they become artiſts and judges of

of artiſts, as readily as they are created doctors of civil law, and raiſed to be magiſtrates.

If it were therefore but once the faſhion to practiſe a mechanic trade, your children would ſoon be expert at it, without taking the trouble to learn; they would be admitted maſters of their profeſſion, like the counſellors of Zurich. Let us have none of theſe ceremonies with Emilius; let us have no appearances, but all reality. Let us not talk of what he knows; but let him continue to learn in ſilence. Let him often be at work upon ſome maſter-piece, but never ſet up for a maſter; let his work, and not his titles, diſcover him to be an artiſt.

If hitherto I have made myſelf underſtood, it is to be obſerved, that, together with the habit of bodily exerciſe and manual labour, I have inſenſibly inſpired my pupil with a taſte for reflection and meditation, in order to counterbalance that indolence, which would naturally reſult from his indifference about human opinions, and from his ſerenity of mind. He muſt work like a peaſant, and think like a philoſopher, to avoid being as lazy as a ſavage. The grand ſecret of education is to make the exerciſes of the body and of the mind ſerve for mutual relaxation to each other.

But let us carefully avoid anticipating any inſtructions, which require a greater maturity of judgment. Emilius will not be long employed as an artiſt, before he will become ſenſible of the inequality of conditions, of which he had at firſt but a very imperfect idea. On the maxims I have laid down, which are adapted to his age, he will want in his turn to interrogate me. Receiving every thing from my hand, and ſeeing himſelf ſo near the ſtate of poverty, he will be curious to know why I am at ſuch a diſtance from it. Perhaps he will aſk me unawares ſome puzzling queſtions. *You are rich; you told me ſo, and I perceive it. The rich owe likewiſe their labour to ſociety, ſince they are men. But of what ſervice are*

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you to the public? What would one of your fine governors say to this? I know not. Perhaps he would be foolish enough to talk to the child of the extraordinary care he takes of his education. For my part, I get clear of the affair by the help of the workshop. *This, my dear Emilius, is an excellent question. I promise to answer, on my part, when you have made for yourself a satisfactory answer. In the mean while, I shall take care to give my superfluities to you and to the poor, and to make a table or a bench every week, to the end that I may not be altogether useless to society.*

Behold us now returned to ourselves. Behold our Emilius just ready to quit the state of infancy, and to enter into that of manhood. He now becomes more sensible than ever of the necessary relations between him and other objects. After having begun with the exercise of his body and his sensitive faculties, we have endeavoured to cultivate his understanding. In short, we have united the use of his limbs to that of his mental faculties. As we have formed an active, thinking being, there remains no more, to complete the man, than to inspire him with love and sensibility, that is, to perfect his reason by sentiment. But before we enter upon this new order of things, let us review that we are going to quit, and observe with all possible exactness to what point we are arrived.

Our pupil at first had only sensations; now he has ideas: he once was solely employed in perceiving by the organs of sense, but now he judges of things. For from the comparison between many successive or simultaneous sensations, and the judgment formed thereon, arises a kind of mixed or complex sensation, which I distinguish by the name of idea.

The manner of forming ideas is the characteristic of the mind. He who frames his ideas from actual relations, is a person of sound judgment; he who is satisfied with apparent relations, is superficial; he who perceives the relations as they really are, displays a right

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a right judgment; he who makes an injudicious eſtimate of things, ſhews his judgment is wrong. To find out imaginary relations, that have neither reality nor appearance, betokens madneſs; to compare none at all, is the mark of a driveller. The greater or leſſer aptitude to compare theſe ideas, and to diſcover ſuch relations, is what conſtitutes the greater or leſs degree of underſtanding, &c.

Simple ideas are no more than comparative ſenſations. A judgment is formed from ſimple, as well as from complex, ſenſations, to which I give the name of ſimple ideas. In ſenſation, the judgment is purely paſſive; it affirms, that ſuch a ſenſation exiſts. In ideas ariſing from ſenſation, the judgment is active; it connects, compares, and determines thoſe relations, which the organ of ſenſe leaves undecided. This is the whole difference; yet it is very conſiderable. Nature never deceives us; it is we that deceive ourſelves.

Suppoſe ſome freezing milk to be ſet before a child only eight years old; he puts the ſpoon to his mouth, without knowing what it is; but feeling the intenſe cold, he cries out, *O, it burns me!* He perceives a very lively ſenſation, and knowing none ſharper than that of heat, he thinks it muſt proceed from fire. Yet he is miſtaken; the cold hurts, but does not burn him; neither are theſe two ſenſations at all alike, ſince they who have experienced both, never confound them. Therefore it is not the ſenſation, but the judgment he forms of it, that leads him into error.

The ſame deception may happen to any perſon the firſt time he ſees a looking-glaſs, or makes uſe of an optic machine, or when he goes down into a deep cellar in the middle of ſummer or winter; or when he dips his hand, either very warm or cold, into water of a middle temperature; or when he turns a round ball between two fingers held croſſwiſe, &c. Should he be contented with declaring what he perceives,

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or feels, his judgment, being purely paſſive, cannot poſſibly deceive him; but when he judges of a thing by its appearance, the judgment then is active; it compares and draws inferences from thoſe relations which it does not perceive; and thence it is ſubject to be miſtaken. To correct or prevent ſuch errors, it ſtands in need of experience.

Make your pupil take notice of the clouds paſſing over the moon, he will imagine the moon moving in an oppoſite direction, and that the clouds ſtand ſtill. He will believe it from a haſty way of reaſoning, becauſe he is more uſed to behold the motion of little objects than of great ones, and the clouds appear to him much bigger than the moon, whoſe diſtance he is incapable of eſtimating. When he is on board a ſhip that puts off to ſea, and beholds the ſhore from ſome little diſtance, he falls into the contrary error, and apprehends the earth to move, becauſe not perceiving any motion in himſelf, he conſiders the ſhip and the ſea and the intire horizon as one immoveable object, of which the beach appearing to move, conſtitutes only a part.

The firſt time a child beholds a ſtick plunged halfway into the water, he ſees it broken; the ſenſation is a true one, and would ſtill be ſo, were we even to be ignorant of the reaſon of that appearance. Hence, if you aſk him what it is he ſees, he anſwers, a broken ſtick, and he ſays right; for it is certainly repreſented as ſuch by his ſenſation. But when, deceived by his judgment, he goes farther, and after having affirmed that he ſees a broken ſtick, he likewiſe aſſerts, that the ſtick he ſees in that manner is really broken, he tells a falſity: And why ſo? Becauſe then his judgment becomes active; he does not judge from inſpection, but from induction, in affirming what he does not perceive by ſenſation, namely, that the judgment he forms from one ſenſe would be confirmed by another.

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Since all our errors proceed thus from the deception of our judgment, it is very clear, that if we had never any occaſion to judge, we ſhould have no neceſſity to learn; we ſhould be in no danger of being miſtaken; and, in ſhort, we ſhould be happier far in our ignorance, than we can poſſibly be with all our knowledge. Who denies that the learned know a thouſand things, of which the ignorant will never have any idea? And are the learned, for all that, nearer the truth? Quite the contrary; the more they advance, the more they diverge from it; becauſe as the vanity of judging makes a greater progreſs than their real knowledge, every truth they learn, is received together with a hundred falſe concluſions. It is evident to the laſt degree, that the learned ſocieties of Europe are no more than public ſchools of falſhood; and there are certainly more errors propagated by the members of the academy of ſciences, than are to be found among a whole nation of ſavages.

Since our errors thus keep pace with our knowledge, the only method of avoiding error, is to continue in ignorance. Do not judge, and you will never be miſtaken. This is a leſſon dictated by nature as well as by reaſon. Except the immediate relations of objects to us, which are very few, and obvious to ſenſe, we have naturally ſpeaking a great indifference for all the reſt. A ſavage would not ſtir an inch to view the motions of the fineſt machine, or all the wonders of electricity. *What is that to me?* is an expreſſion moſt commonly uſed by the ignorant, and fitteſt for the learned.

But unfortunately this expreſſion is now become uſeleſs. Every thing is of importance to us, ſince we are dependent on every thing; and our curioſity is neceſſarily enlarged together with our wants. For this reaſon, I attribute a very conſiderable ſhare to a philoſopher, but none at all to a ſavage. The latter

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has no occaſion for any body; the former wants all the world, but eſpecially admirers.

I ſhall be told, that I here deviate from nature. I am of a contrary ſentiment. Nature chuſes her inſtruments, which ſhe regulates, not by opinion, but by our wants; and theſe vary according to our different ſituations. There is a very wide difference between man living in the ſtate of nature, and man in the ſtate of ſociety. Emilius is not a ſavage deſigned to wander about in deſarts; but formed to live in inhabited towns. He muſt therefore find neceſſaries among them, reap advantage from their improvements, and live, if not like them, at leaſt in their company.

Since amidſt the variety of new relations, on which he is going to depend, he will be under a neceſſity of forming ſome judgment concerning them, let us inſtruct him to judge properly.

The beſt method of learning to make a right judgment is, that which tends to render our experience more ſimple, and enable us even to proceed, without this experience, ſo as to avoid falling into error. Whence it follows, that after we have been uſed for ſome time to confirm the reports of one ſenſe by another, we muſt farther learn to verify the evidence of each ſenſe by itſelf, without having recourſe to the others; then every ſenſation will become an idea, and this idea will be always conformable to truth. Such are the acquiſitions, with which I have endeavoured to fill up this third ſtage of human life.

This method of proceeding requires a patience and circumſpection, of which but few tutors are capable, and without which no diſciple will ever learn to judge properly. If, for inſtance, when he is miſtaken from the appearance of the broken ſtick, you endeavour to ſet him right, by haſtily drawing it out of the water, perhaps he will be undeceived; but what will you teach him by it? Nothing, but what he would have ſoon learnt of himſelf. But this is not the thing to be done: the point is not ſo much to

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teach him a particular truth, as to ſhew him a general method of diſcovering it. That he may be better inſtructed, he muſt not be undeceived ſo ſoon. Let Emilius and myſelf ſerve for your example.

Firſt of all, to the ſecond of the two queſtions ſuppoſed, every child educated in the common manner would not fail to anſwer in the affirmative. *Certainly*, he would ſay, *the ſtick is broken.* But I queſtion very much whether Emilius would make me the ſame anſwer. Seeing no neceſſity either to be, or to appear, learned, he is not in a hurry to form a judgment of any thing; he never judges but from evidence; and in the preſent caſe, he, who knows the fallaciouſneſs of determining from appearances, is very far from finding ſuch evidence.

Beſides, as he knows by experience, that the queſtions I put to him, even the moſt frivolous, have always a view to ſome object, which he does not immediately perceive, he is not accuſtomed to give me a precipitate anſwer. On the contrary, he is upon his guard, and examines them carefully, before he will give me his anſwer. Hence he never makes me a reply, unleſs he is ſatisfied with it himſelf; and in this particular he is not eaſily ſatisfied. In ſhort, neither he nor I pique ourſelves upon knowing the truth of things, but only upon avoiding error. We ſhould be much more aſhamed of being ſatisfied with a bad reaſon, than of finding none at all. *I do not know*, is a phraſe that ſuits us both ſo well, and is repeated by us ſo often, that it now coſts us nothing. But whether he commits ſuch a blunder, or avoids it by our convenient phraſe, *I do not know*, my reply would be ſtill the ſame; *Let us ſee*; *let us examine.*

This ſtick, half-immerſed in water, is fixed in a perpendicular ſituation. To know whether it be really broken, as it appears, how many things we are obliged to do, before we take it out of the water, or even touch it with our hand!

1°. In

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1°. In the first place, we turn round the stick, and observe, that the apparent fracture moves round with us. Therefore it is our eye only that changes it; but our view can make no alteration in the object.

2°. We look down it from end to end, and then the stick appears no longer crooked; the end next our eye exactly hides the other. But has our eye straightened the stick?

3°. We disturb the surface of the water, and we observe the stick bends into several pieces, making zigzag motions, and following the undulations of the water. Is the motion we give the water sufficient to break, to soften, and, in some measure, to melt the stick?

4°. We let the water run off, and behold the stick resumes its right form, in proportion as the water subsides. Is not this more than sufficient to illustrate the fact, and to discover the refraction? It is not therefore true, that the sight deceives us, since we stand in need of the assistance of no other sense to rectify the errors that we impute to it.

But suppose a child so stupid as not to perceive the result of these experiments; then we must call in the touch to the assistance of visual perception. Instead of taking the stick out of the water, let it abide in the same situation; let the boy carry his hand down it, from one end to the other, he will find no angle, consequently the stick is not broken.

You will tell me, that this is not merely judging of things, but arguing on them in form. It is true; but do not you see, that as soon as the mind is arrived at the perception of ideas, every judgment is a ratiocination? The consciousness of a sensation is a proposition, a judgment. No sooner therefore do we compare one sensation to another, than we begin to reason. The arts of judging and reasoning are exactly the same.

Emilius will never understand dioptrics, unless he learns it by means of this stick. He shall anatomize

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no inſects, nor reckon the ſpots of the ſun; he ſhall not know the uſe of microſcopes or teleſcopes. Your learned pupils will laugh at his ignorance; and they may be in the right; for before he makes uſe of thoſe inſtruments, I intend he ſhall invent them; and you queſtion whether he will be able to compaſs that ſo ſoon.

Such is the ſecret of my ſyſtem in this particular part. If a child rolls a little ball between two fingers croſſwiſe, and imagines he holds two, I would not ſuffer him to look, before he was otherwiſe convinced there was no more than one.

Theſe explanations will be ſufficient, I apprehend, to ſhew the improvement my pupil has made toward real knowledge, and the route he has purſued. But you perhaps are frightened at the variety of things I have exhibited to his view. You are apprehenſive, leſt I ſhould overload his underſtanding with ſuch a weight of knowledge. But, quite the reverſe, I teach him how to be ignorant of a multitude of things. I ſhew him, indeed, a ſmooth, but long and tedious, way to knowledge. I have attended him at his firſt ſetting out, that he might be acquainted with the entrance; but I ſhall never permit him to proceed any great length.

Obliged to learn of himſelf, he makes uſe of his own reaſon, and not that of others: for, to prevent his being ſwayed by opinion, he muſt not be governed by authority; moſt of our errors being derived leſs from ourſelves, than from others. So conſtant an exerciſe of the underſtanding muſt be productive of a vigour of mind like that, which his body has attained by labour and fatigue. Another advantage is, that he advances only in proportion to his ſtrength. The mind, as well as the body, is able to bear only a certain weight. When the underſtanding makes itſelf maſter of things, before it commits them to memory, what it draws from thence afterwards, is properly its own. Whereas, when the memory is overloaded

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loaded with ideas, which the underſtanding has not rightly digeſted, we run the riſk of never recollecting any thing, that can be ſaid to belong to our own ſtock.

Emilius has but little knowledge, but that little is really his own; he knows nothing by halves. Among the few things he knows, and which he fully underſtands, the moſt important is, that there are many things, of which he is ignorant, but which he is likely to know ſome time or other; a great many that other people know, but with which he will never be acquainted; and an infinite number that will never be known by any mortal whatever. He is an univerſal genius, not by his preſent knowledge, but by his extenſive capacity; his mind is open, intelligent, diſpoſed to receive every communication, and, as Montagne ſays, if not inſtructed, at leaſt capable of receiving inſtruction. It is ſufficient for me, that he knows the utility of whatever he does, and the reaſon of whatever he believes. Once more I ſay, my intention is not to furniſh him with learning, but to teach him how to acquire it, when it may be of uſe to him; to ſhew him how to ſet a juſt value on it; and, above all things, to inſpire him with the love of truth. Purſuing this method, he advances ſlowly, but he never takes an uſeleſs ſtep, nor is he obliged to go retrograde.

My pupil underſtands no other ſcience, but that of nature. He does not ſo much as know the name of hiſtory, nor the meaning of the words metaphyſics and morality. He is acquainted with the eſſential relations of man to things, but with none of the moral relations between man and man. He knows but very little of general ideas, or abſtract notions of things. He obſerves the general qualities of certain bodies, without reaſoning on thoſe qualities themſelves. He is acquainted with abſtract extenſion, by the aid of geometrical figures; and with abſtract quantity, by means of algebraical ſigns. Theſe figures and ſigns

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are the ſupport of thoſe abſtractions, on which his ſenſes depend. He has no curioſity of inveſtigating the nature of things, but only of diſcovering thoſe relations in which he is intereſted. He eſtimates outward objects in regard to himſelf only; but then this eſtimation is juſt and exact. Fancy or general agreement have no weight with him. He ſets the greateſt value on what is moſt uſeful to him; and never deviating from this manner of eſtimating, he pays no regard at all to human opinion.

Emilius is fond of exerciſe, temperate in his diet, patient under difficulties, of great firmneſs of mind, and of invincible courage. His imagination is never ſo heightened, as to magnify dangers; he is affected with very few hardſhips, and capable of ſuffering with conſtancy, becauſe he never learnt to repine againſt fate. With regard to death, he does not rightly know the nature of it as yet; but being uſed to ſubmit to the law of neceſſity without reluctance, when it is his turn to go off the ſtage, he will do it with a good grace; this is the utmoſt that nature will admit of in that critical minute, abhorred by all. To live free and independent, and to have very little connexion with the world, is the beſt way of learning to die.

In a word, Emilius is poſſeſſed of every virtue that has a relation to himſelf. In order to poſſeſs the ſocial virtues, he only wants to be made acquainted with the relations on which they ſubſiſt; he only ſtands in need of thoſe inſtructions, which his mind is prepared to receive.

He conſiders himſelf without any connexion with others. He requires nothing of any man, and believes no man has a right to require any thing of him. He is ſingle in the midſt of ſociety, and depends upon himſelf alone. He has indeed a greater right than any body elſe to this independency, becauſe he is poſſeſſed of every real accompliſhment that a perſon of his age is capable of attaining. He is ſubject to no errors, but only ſuch as are inſeparable from

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from humanity; he has no vices, or thoſe only, from which no man living can be exempt. He has a ſound conſtitution, an active body, a clear underſtanding, with a free and diſpaſſionate heart. Self-love, the firſt and moſt natural of all paſſions, has ſcarcely made itſelf known to him. Without diſturbing any body's repoſe, he has hitherto lived content, happy, and as free as the condition of humanity would permit. Do you think that a youth, who with theſe accompliſhments has attained his fifteenth year, can be ſaid to have miſpent the foregoing part of his life.

The End of the Third Book.

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EMILIUS;

OR, AN

ESSAY on EDUCATION.

BOOK the FOURTH.

HOW ſwiftly our life paſſes upon this earth! The firſt quarter is elapſed before we know its uſe; the laſt quarter ſtill running out, after we have ceaſed to enjoy it. At firſt we know not how to live; ſoon we are no longer in a capacity for it; and during the ſpace which ſeparates theſe two uſeleſs extremities, three fourths of the time are ſpent in ſleep, labour, pain, conſtraint, and every kind of uneaſineſs. Life is ſhort, not ſo much on account of the brevity of its duration, as of the little time we have to enjoy it. In vain would it be to remove the time of our death to a greater diſtance from that of our birth: life will always be too ſhort, if the intermediate ſpace be not properly filled up.

It may be ſaid in ſome meaſure, that we are twice born; firſt to exiſt, and the ſecond time to live; one birth is for the ſpecies, and the other for the ſex. They who conſider woman as an imperfect man, are doubtleſs miſtaken; but the exterior analogy is in their favour. Till the age of puberty, children

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children of both ſexes have no apparent mark to diſtinguiſh them; the ſame faces, figures, complexion, voices, all nearly alike; the girls are children, the boys are children alſo; the ſame denomination is ſufficient for beings that ſo greatly reſemble each other. The males, who are debarred from the progreſs of their ſex, preſerve that uniformity all their lives, remaining always great children; and the females, retaining likewiſe that ſame uniformity, ſeem in many reſpects to be little more.

But man, generally ſpeaking, is not formed to continue always in a ſtate of infancy. He quits it at the time preſcribed by nature; and this critical moment, though extremely ſhort, has a very ſtrong influence on the remainder of his life.

As the roaring of the ſea precedes the bluſtring ſtorm, ſo the murmur of the paſſions portends this tempeſtuous revolution in the human frame; a ſlow fermentation foretells the approaching danger. A change of temper, frequent tranſports of paſſion, and agitation of mind, render the youth almoſt ungovernable. He becomes deaf to the voice, to which he had been hitherto ſo docile; he is a lion in his fury, he knows no guide, and throws off all ſubjection.

Beſides the moral ſigns of this alteration of temper, there are likewiſe ſenſible changes in his outward figure. His features are unfolded, and fix the caſt of his countenance; upon his chin, the thin ſoft down aſſumes a browniſh hue, and a kind of conſiſtency. His voice changes, or rather, he quite loſes it; he is neither a child nor a man, and therefore has not the tone of either. His eyes, thoſe organs of the ſoul, which have hiherto been ſilent, find language and expreſſion; they are animated with a kindling fire; their looks increaſing in vivacity, ſtill retain a ſacred innocence, but no longer partake of their former inſenſibility; he is but too well convinced of their power of expreſſion, and therefore he learns to

caſt

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caſt them down, and bluſh: he begins to feel, before he knows the object of his ſenſibility; he is reſtleſs, without knowing the cauſe of his uneaſineſs. All theſe changes may come on gradually, and afford you ſtill time to guard againſt accidents: but if he grows impatient in his vivacity; if his tranſports are changed into frenzy; if his paſſion is raiſed one minute and ſubſides the next; if he burſts out into tears without cauſe; if when he approaches the objects which grow dangerous to his repoſe, his pulſe beats high, and his eye is inflamed; if he trembles at the touch of a female hand; if he is agitated or awed by fears when ſhe happens to be preſent; Ulyſſes, wiſe Ulyſſes! take care of thyſelf; thoſe leathern bags thou haſt cloſed with ſuch caution, are open; the winds have broke looſe; and if thou quitteſt the helm but for a moment, the veſſel is loſt.

Here begins the ſecond birth I have before mentioned; here it is that man is really born to life, and becomes a ſtranger to no part of humanity. Hitherto, our care has been very trifling; now it is of real importance. At this ſtage the ordinary courſe of education terminates; but ſtrictly ſpeaking, here ours ſhould begin. But in order to ſet this new plan in a proper light, it will be neceſſary to trace matters to their very ſource.

Our paſſions are the chief inſtruments of our preſervation; it is therefore a vain as well as ridiculous attempt to deſtroy them; it is controlling nature, and reforming the handy-work of God. If the Deity wanted man to annihilate the paſſions which are given him, he would not know his own mind, he would be inconſiſtent with himſelf. But never did he iſſue out ſo abſurd an order; never was any thing like it imprinted on the heart of man; and what God is willing man ſhould do, he does not tell him by the mouth of another, but reveals it to him himſelf,

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himſelf, and ſtamps it in indelible characters on his heart.

Now to attempt to ſuppreſs the paſſions, ſeems to be almoſt as weak, as if you endeavoured to deſtroy them: and whoever imagines that this has been my deſign, is certainly miſtaken.

But would it be reaſoning juſtly, if from its being in the nature of man to be endowed with paſſions, we were to conclude, that all the paſſions we feel, and obſerve in others, are natural? Their ſource is natural, I grant you, but it has been ſwelled by a thouſand rivulets; it is a great river, whoſe bed is continually inlarging, and in which you would ſcarce find a few drops of the original ſpring. Our natural paſſions are very much limited; yet they are the inſtruments of our liberty, and tend to our preſervation. Thoſe which enſlave and deſtroy us, come from another quarter; they are not the gift of nature, we adopt them to her prejudice.

The ſource of human paſſions, the origin and principle of all others, the only one that is born with man, and that never leaves him while he lives, is ſelf-love: this is an innate paſſion, anterior to all others, and of which they are all, in one ſenſe, but different modifications. In this ſenſe, if you will, they are natural. Moſt of thoſe modifications have adventitious cauſes, without which they would never have exiſted; but theſe very modifications, inſtead of doing us any good, redound greatly to our prejudice; they change the primary object, and counteract their principle. Then it is that man goes beyond nature, and is inconſiſtent with himſelf.

The love of the individual is always good, and conformable to order. Every man is particularly intruſted with his own preſervation; the firſt and chief of all his cares, is, and ought to be, continually to watch over it; and how can he ſubmit to this trouble, unleſs he be ſtrongly impelled by his intereſt?

We

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We ought therefore to love, in order to preſerve ourſelves; and by an immediate conſequence, we ſhould love every thing that contributes to our preſervation. Every child is fond of his nurſe; Romulus muſt have had an affection for the ſhe wolf by whom he was ſuckled. This attachment at firſt is merely mechanical. Whatever promotes the welfare of an individual, attracts his affection; whatever is prejudicial to that welfare, keeps him at a diſtance: this is mere inſtinct. What transforms this inſtinct into ſentiment, the attachment into love, and the diſlike into downright hatred, is the declared intention either of hurting or of doing us good. We feel no paſſion for inſenſible beings, that only follow the impulſe they receive: but thoſe from whoſe inward diſpoſition and freewill we expect good, or apprehend evil, thoſe whom we ſee acting voluntarily for or againſt us, inſpire us with the ſame ſentiments as they demonſtrate towards us. We ſeek for thoſe who are able to do us good; but thoſe who are willing to do us good, we really love: thoſe who have the power to hurt us, we avoid; but thoſe who intend to do us an injury, we hate.

A child's firſt ſentiment is to love himſelf; the ſecond, derived from the former, is to bear an affection to thoſe who are employed about him; for in his preſent feeble ſtate, he has no knowledge of perſons, but from the care and tenderneſs with which they attend him. At firſt, the attachment he has for his nurſe or governante, is no more than a habit. He ſeeks them, becauſe he wants their aid, and finds his advantage in having them with him; this is rather acquaintance than benevolence. It requires a great deal of time to make him ſenſible, that they are not only ſerviceable to him, but deſirous to do him ſervice; and then it is he begins to love them.

A child is therefore naturally inclined to benevolence, becauſe he perceives that every body about

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him is ready to give him affiſtance; and from this obſervation, he derives the habit of thinking favourably of his ſpecies: but in proportion as he extends his relations, his wants, and his active or paſſive dependencies, the idea of his relations to others ariſes, and produces that of duty and preference. The boy becomes imperious, jealous, deceitful, and vindictive. If he be ordered to obey, not perceiving the utility of the thing commanded, he imputes it to caprice, and to an intention of tormenting him; which renders him mutinous. If you generally comply with his humour, the firſt oppoſition he meets with, he conſiders as a rebellion, or an avowed intention to reſiſt him, and beats the chairs and tables for diſobeying his commands. The ſelf-love which relates only to our own intereſt, is content when our real wants are ſatisfied; but the comparative ſelf-love is never ſatisfied; and it cannot be otherwiſe; becauſe this ſenſation, at the ſame time that it prefers ourſelf to others, requires that others ſhould give us the ſame preference; which is impoſſible.—In this manner are the ſoft and tender paſſions, as well as thoſe of the iraſcible kind, derived from ſelf-love. That which renders man eſſentially good, is to have few wants, and to compare himſelf but ſeldom to others; that which renders him eſſentially wicked, is to have many wants, and to depend greatly on opinion. Upon this principle it is eaſy to ſee in what manner all the paſſions of children, as well as of adult perſons, may be directed to good or evil. True it is, that as we cannot always live retired, it will be difficult for us to be always good; this difficulty will neceſſarily increaſe together with our relations; and it is particularly in this article that the dangers of ſocial commerce oblige us to be more upon our guard, to the end, that we may prevent that depravation of the heart, which ariſes from its increaſing neceſſities.

The

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The proper ſtudy of man, is that of his relations or connections. While he only knows his phyſical exiſtence, he ſhould ſolely ſtudy his relation to things; this is the employment of his infancy. When he begins to feel his moral exiſtence, he ought then to enquire after his relation to mankind; this is the proper occupation of his whole life, beginning from the period to which we are now arrived.

As ſoon as man has need of a female companion, he ceaſes to be a ſolitary being; his heart is no longer ſingle. All his relations to his ſpecies, all the affections of his mind, riſe at the ſame time with this ſenſation; his firſt paſſion ſoon makes the others ferment.

The inclination from inſtinct is vague and indeterminate. One ſex is attracted towards the other; this is the natural emotion. But the choice and preference of objects, as well as perſonal attachment, are the effect of information, prejudices, or habit. It requires ſome time and knowledge to render us capable of affection: we are not uſed to fall in love, till we have formed ſome judgment of the object beloved; nor to give a preference, till we have drawn a compariſon. Theſe judgments are formed unknown to us; but this does not hinder their reality. True love, ſay what you will, muſt ever be honoured by mankind; for however the tranſports of this paſſion are apt to lead us aſtray, and though it does not exclude every odious quality from the heart, but is even productive of many; yet it always ſuppoſes valuable qualities, without which it would be impoſſible for this paſſion to exiſt. That choice which is ſet in oppoſition to reaſon, ſprings from it. Love is repreſented blind, becauſe he has better eyes than ourſelves, and ſees ſome relations, which we cannot perceive. To a perſon who had no idea of merit and beauty, all women would be equal, and the firſt he beheld would be the moſt amiable.

Love,

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Love, inſtead of being derived from nature, is the rule and reſtraint of its inclinations; and by this paſſion, if we except the beloved object, one ſex becomes quite indifferent to the other.

The preference we give, we are deſirous to obtain; love ought to be a mutual affection. To be beloved, we muſt render ourſelves amiable; to obtain the preference, we muſt become ourſelves more amiable than any other perſon, at leaſt in the eye of the object beloved. Hence our firſt view of our fellow-creatures; hence thoſe firſt compariſons between them and ourſelves; hence, in fine, the paſſions of emulation and jealouſy. A heart glowing with ſentiment, loves to diffuſe itſelf; from the want of a miſtreſs, that of a friend ſoon follows; he who knows how agreeable it is to be beloved, would be glad to have every body's affection; and we cannot all be deſirous of preference, without making many diſcontented.——With love and friendſhip, diſſenſions, enmity and hatred ariſe. On ſuch a variety of paſſions, I ſee opinion eſtabliſh its throne, and ſtupid mortals ſubmitting to its empire, found their own exiſtence on the judgment of others.

Extend theſe ideas, and you will ſee how it comes, that ſelf-love aſſumes what we think its natural form; and in what manner this ſame paſſion, ceaſing to be an abſolute ſenſation, is transformed into pride in great ſouls, into vanity in the little; and in all is continually nouriſhed at the expence of our neighbour. Theſe kind of paſſions do not naturally ſpring up in the hearts of children; they cannot grow ſpontaneouſly; we plant them there ourſelves, and if ever they take root, it is our fault. But it is otherwiſe with reſpect to the heart of a young man; they will grow there in ſpite of us. Therefore it is high time to change our method.

Let

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Let us begin with ſome important reflections on this critical ſtage of life. The ſtate from childhood to puberty is not determined in ſuch a manner by nature, as not to vary in individuals according to conſtitutions, and in nations according to climates. Every body knows the diſtinctions obſervable in this reſpect between hot and cold countries; and it is univerſally acknowledged, that warm conſtitutions are ſooner ripe than others: but we may be miſtaken in regard to the original ſource; and frequently attribute to a phyſical, what we ſhould impute to a moral cauſe; this is one of the moſt common miſtakes in modern philoſophy. Nature's inſtructions are always ſlow, thoſe of men are generally premature. In the former caſe, the ſenſes awaken the imagination; in the latter, the imagination rouſes the ſenſes; it renders them active before the time, which at firſt cannot but weaken and enervate individuals, and at length muſt extend its pernicious influence to the whole ſpecies. An obſervation more general and more certain than that of the effect of climates, is, that puberty, and the power of the ſex, are always more forward among civilized, than barbarous nations *. Children have an extraordinary ſagacity in ſeeing

* *In towns*, ſays M. de Buffon, *and among people of eaſy fortunes, children being uſed to great plenty of ſucculent food, attain this ſtate much earlier; in the country, and among the poor, children are ſlower in their progreſs, becauſe their food is worſe in quality, and leſs in quantity, and therefore they require two or three years longer.* Hiſt. nat. t. 4. I admit the obſervation, but not the reaſon aſſigned, becauſe, in countries where the villagers are very well fed, as in the Valais, and even ſome mountainous parts of Italy, as Friuli, the age of puberty in both ſexes falls as late as in the midſt of towns, where, to indulge their vanity, they oftentimes are very parſimonious in their eating. One is ſurprized in theſe mountains to ſee ſuch ſtrapping lads, as tall as men, with a ſqueaking voice and beardleſs chin; and tall girls, extremely well limbed, yet without any periodical mark of their ſex. A diſ-

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seeing into the immorality disguised under the aptest forms of compliment and ceremony. The purity of language recommended for their imitation, the lessons on modesty in which they are often instructed, the veil of mystery which their masters affect to draw before their eyes, are so many incentives to their curiosity. From the manner we behave to them, it plainly appears, that we conceal from their knowledge, what we would have them learn; and of all the instructions that are given them, this is that in which they make the greatest improvement.

Consult experience, and you will find that this foolish method accelerates the work of nature, and ruins the constitution. This is one of the principal excuses of the decline of the human species in great cities. The young people being soon exhausted, continue low in stature, weak and disfigured in body, so as to grow old, instead of growing big; as the vine that has been made to bear fruit in the spring, withers and dies before autumn.

One must have lived among people of great rudeness and simplicity, to be able to judge how long the innocence of children may be preserved by a happy ignorance. It is a pleasing sight, to observe the two sexes in those countries securely enjoying, in the flower of life and beauty, the innocent pastimes of their childhood, and demonstrating, even by their familiarity, the purity of their pleasures. At length, when those amiable young people come to be married, the bride and bridegroom mutually interchanging the first fruits of love, are more endeared to each other; a stock of healthy robust children become the

ference, which, in my opinion, is entirely owing to the simplicity of their manners, whereby their imagination being longer preserved in a peaceful serenity, their blood begins to ferment much later, and their constitution of course is not so forward.

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pledges of a perpetual union, and the fruit of their early innocence.

If the period at which man becomes conſcious of his ſex, differs as much by education as by nature, it follows from thence, that this period may be either forwarded or retarded, according to the manner in which children are educated; and if the body acquires or loſes its conſiſtency, in proportion as this progreſs is encouraged or delayed, the conſequence alſo is, that the more backward we endeavour to render it, the more a youth will improve in vigour and ſtrength. I ſpeak as yet only of phyſical effects, we ſhall preſently ſee they do not ſtop here.

From theſe reflections, I draw the ſolution of a queſtion ſo often debated, whether it be proper to inſtruct children betimes in regard to objects of their curioſity, or whether it be more adviſable to put them off by ſome modeſt deceit? In my opinion, we ſhould do neither. In the firſt place, this curioſity never riſes in their minds, without being occaſioned by ourſelves; and therefore we ſhould endeavour to prevent it. Secondly, in regard to queſtions which we are not obliged to anſwer, it is not at all neceſſary we ſhould deceive the child who propoſes them; it is far preferable to ſilence him, than to anſwer him with a lie. He will not be much ſurprized at this law, if you have taken care to ſubject him to it in matters of indifference. In fine, if you are determined to anſwer, let it be with the greateſt ſimplicity, without any myſtery or embarraſſment, and even without a ſmile. For there is not ſo much danger in ſatisfying, as in raiſing the curioſity of children.

Let your anſwers be always grave, conciſe, and ſteady, without ſeeming to have the leaſt heſitation. I have no need to add, that they ought always to be true. It is impoſſible to make children ſenſible of the danger of telling lies to men, without being ſenſible

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ourſelves of the much greater danger for men to tell lies to children. A ſingle untruth affirmed by a maſter to his pupil, is enough to deſtroy the whole fruit of his education.

An abſolute ignorance in regard to certain matters, is perhaps the moſt proper for children; but let them learn betimes what you cannot poſſibly conceal from them for ever. Either their curioſity muſt never be excited at all; or it ſhould be ſatisfied before the time of life, in which it is attended with danger. Your behaviour towards your pupil in this reſpect, muſt depend on his particular ſituation, on the people that are about him, and on the different circumſtances of life. It is of the utmoſt importance to leave nothing to hazard, and unleſs you are certain of keeping him in ignorance of the difference of ſex till he is ſixteen, let him learn it before he is ten.

I do not approve the affecting too refined a language in the preſence of children, nor of long circumlocutions perceptible by them, to avoid calling things by their right name. In theſe matters, people of real virtue behave with great ſimplicity; but the imagination corrupted by vice, renders the ear delicate, and obliges us to a continual refinement of expreſſion. Indelicate terms are of no manner of conſequence; laſcivious ideas are what we ſhould endeavour to prevent.

Though modeſty be natural to the human ſpecies, yet it is not natural to children. It proceeds only from the knowledge of evil; and as children neither have, nor can be ſuppoſed to have that knowledge, how ſhould they have the ſenſation it produces? To give them leſſons on ſhame and modeſty, is telling them that there are ſhameful and immodeſt actions; it is inſpiring them with a ſecret deſire of knowing thoſe things. Sooner or later they compaſs their end, and the firſt ſpark that reaches the imagination,

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imagination, ſets all the ſenſes immediately on fire. Whoever bluſhes, is already guilty; true innocence is aſhamed of nothing.

Children have not the ſame deſires as men; but are liable like them to the ſame neceſſities, that offend the ſenſes; for this very reaſon they may receive the ſame leſſons on decency. Follow the intent of nature, which having placed the organs of ſecret pleaſures, and thoſe of diſguſtful neceſſity, in the ſame part of the body, inſpires us with the ſame care at different ages, ſometimes by one idea, and at other times by another; man by modeſty, a child by cleanlineſs.

I ſee but one effectual way of preſerving the innocence of children: it is for all thoſe, with whom they have the leaſt communication, to love and reſpect it. Without this, all the reſerve with which you affect to behave towards them, is ſooner or later made of no effect; a ſmile, a wink, a geſture, informs them of what you intend to conceal; it is ſufficient to make them learn it, to ſee you attempt to keep them in the dark. The delicacy of expreſſion uſed among polite people, ſuppoſeth a degree of knowledge which children ought not to have, and therefore is quite miſplaced with reſpect to them; but when you pay a real regard to their ſimplicity, it is an eaſy matter, in converſing with them, to make uſe of ſuch terms as ſuit their condition. There is a ſimplicity of language agreeable to innocence; and this is the right method to divert a child from any dangerous curioſity. By ſpeaking to him in plain terms of every thing, you leave him no room to ſuſpect that there is any thing more to ſay. By joining diſagreeable ideas to indelicate words, you ſtifle the firſt fire of imagination; you do not forbid him to utter thoſe words, or to entertain thoſe ideas; but you render him, even unknown to himſelf, unwilling to recollect them. And what a deal of perplexity do

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you avoid, by means of this innocent liberty, when you expreſs yourſelf in intelligible terms, and in the full ſincerity of your heart.

How are children made? A very puzzling queſtion, which naturally occurs to children, whoſe morals and bodily health, during their whole lives, depend on the anſwer to it. The ſhorteſt way a mother can imagine to extricate herſelf, without deceving her ſon, is to injoin him ſilence; this might be a very good method, if he had been previouſly accuſtomed to it in indifferent queſtions, and he ſurmiſed no myſtery in this new command. But ſhe rarely hops there. *It is a ſecret known only to married people*, ſhe will ſay to him; *little boys ſhould not be ſo curious*. This is very well to draw a mother out of the ſcrape; but depend upon it, this air of contempt will vex the little boy to ſuch a degree, that he will not reſt a moment till he has learnt this ſecret of married people, and it will not be long before he ſatisfies his curioſity.

May I be permitted to mention here a very different anſwer, which I remember to have heard given to this very queſtion, and which ſtruck me ſo much the more, as it came from a woman as modeſt in her diſcourſe, as in her behaviour, but who knew very well, for the good of her ſon, and for the ſake of virtue, how to deſpiſe the falſe apprehenſions of blame, and the impertinent talk of ſnarlers. It had not been a great while before that, ſince the child had voided in his urine a little ſtone which had lacerated the paſſage; but the pain was over and forgot. *Mamma*, ſaid the little innocent, *how are children made? My child*, anſwered the mother without heſitation, *women make them in their water, with ſuch pain, as ſometimes is attended with the loſs of their lives*. Let fools laugh, let blockheads be ſcandalized; but let thoſe who are wiſe conſider, whether it is poſſible to hit upon a more judicious, or more pertinent anſwer.

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In the firſt place, the idea of a natural want, well known to the child, diverted that of the myſterious operation. The adventitious ideas of pain and death, caſt a veil of ſadneſs over the imagination, and gave a check to curioſity: the mind was thereby fixed on the conſequences, and not on the cauſe of child-bearing. Infirmities of human nature, diſguſtful objects, images of pain and ſuffering, theſe are the explanations to which this anſwer naturally leads, if the child's curioſity ſhould ſtill continue. How is it poſſible for the inquietude of deſires to ariſe from a converſation thus conducted? And yet you perceive, that the truth has not been diſguiſed, and that we have had no neceſſity to deceive, inſtead of inſtructing our pupil.

Your children read, and from books derive a knowledge which they would not have obtained elſewhere. If they ſtudy, their imagination catches fire, even in the moſt retired apartment. If they mix with the world, they hear a ſtrange jargon of words, and are affected with a variety of examples; and being convinced that they are of the male ſex, whatever men do in their preſence, they immediately begin to imitate; for the actions of others muſt needs be their pattern, ſince the opinion of others ſerves them for a law. Servants who are dependent on them, and who have conſequently an intereſt in humouring their fancies, will court their favour at the expence of their morals; a fooliſh governante will talk ſuch ſtuff to a child only four years old, as the moſt impudent woman would be aſhamed to mention to a boy of fifteen. The women ſoon forget what they have ſaid; but the children do not loſe the remembrance of what they have heard. Immodeſt diſcourſe paves the way for wantonneſs and debauchery; the wicked lackey corrupts the morals of the child; and their mutual ſecurity binds them to ſecrecy.

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A child educated according to his age, is a ſolitary being. He knows no attachments but thoſe of habit; he loves his ſiſter as his toy, and his friend as his dog. He feels himſelf of no ſex or ſpecies; man and woman are equally ſtrangers to him; nothing of what they either do or ſay, does he apply to himſelf; he neither ſees nor hears them, he pays no attention to them, their diſcourſe is no more intereſting to him than their example; all this he has nothing to do with, it does not ſuit his years. By this method we do not artfully lead him into error; it is the ignorance of nature. The time is drawing near, when nature herſelf will take care to inſtruct her pupil; and then only will ſhe enable him to profit by her leſſons. This is the principle on which I build my ſyſtem; the particular rules are foreign to my ſubject, and the means I propoſe, with a view to other objects, will ſerve likewiſe as an example for the preſent caſe.

Have you a mind to reduce the growing paſſions to method and rule? Contrive ſo as they ſhall ripen later, to the end that they may have time to arrange themſelves in due order, as faſt as they grow. Then they are not regulated by man, but by nature herſelf; your buſineſs is only to let her diſpoſe her own work. Were your pupil by himſelf, you would have nothing to do; but now, every thing that ſurrounds him, inflames his imagination. He is hurried away by the torrent of prejudice; to keep him back, you muſt give him a contrary direction. Senſation muſt clip fancy's wings, and reaſon muſt ſilence human opinions. The ſource of all the paſſions is ſenſibility; imagination determines their bent. Every being that feels his relations, muſt be affected when thoſe relations alter; and when he has diſcovered, or believes he has diſcovered, others more ſuitable to his natural condition. It is the errors of imagination that tranſform the paſſions of all limited beings, even of angels

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gels themſelves, if they have any, into vices: for it is requiſite they ſhould know the nature of all beings, to be able to judge what relations are moſt ſuitable to their own.

Here therefore is the ſummary of human wiſdom in the uſe of the paſſions: 1°. In being ſenſible of the true relations of man, as well in regard to the ſpecies, as to the individual. 2°. In regulating the ſeveral affections of the mind according to theſe relations.

But you will aſk me, whether man is at liberty to regulate his affections according to ſuch particular relations? No doubt but he is, if he has a power of directing his imagination to ſuch or ſuch an object, or to give it ſuch a particular turn. Beſides, the preſent queſtion is not ſo much concerning a man's power over himſelf, as what may be done with our pupil in ſuch particular circumſtances wherein we place him. To ſet forth the proper means for keeping him within the order of nature, is ſufficiently expreſſing in what manner he may quit it.

So long as his ſenſibility is confined to his own perſon, there is no morality in his actions; when it begins to expand itſelf to outward objects, then, and not till then, does he form thoſe ſentiments, and thoſe notions of good and evil, which really conſtitute him a man, and an integral part of his ſpecies. Therefore this is the point at which we are to begin with our obſervations.

Theſe are attended with ſome difficulty, inaſmuch as to form them properly, we muſt reject the examples before our eyes, and go in ſearch of thoſe, in which the ſucceſſive unfoldings of the faculties of the mind are agreeable to the order of nature.

A boy educated with great politeneſs, and in the high taſte, who waits only for the power of executing the forward inſtructions he has received at the academy, is never miſtaken as to the critical time of the commencement of that power. Inſtead of waiting

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ing for it, he accelerates its progress; he forwards the fermentation of his blood, and knows the object of his desires, before he has the least sensibility. Nature does not excite him, but he forces her; she has nothing more to learn him, when she has made him a man. He was a man in idea, long before he had attained his manhood.

The true progress of nature is more gradual. The blood is insensibly inflamed, the spirits begin to ferment, and the constitution is formed. The sage artist, who directs the fabric, takes care to perfect all his instruments before he sets them to work; a long inquietude precedes the first desires; a long ignorance diverts them several ways; we desire without knowing what; the blood ferments, and is set in motion; a superabundance of life endeavours to expand itself. The eye sparkles with fire, and surveys all other beings; we begin to have an interest in the objects by which we are surrounded; we begin to feel, that we were not formed to live alone; thus the heart gradually opens itself to human affections, and becomes capable of attachment.

The first sentiment of which a youth carefully educated is susceptible, is not love, but friendship. The first act of his growing imagination, is to inform him that he has fellow-creatures: and the species affects him before the sex. This is another advantage of prolonging the state of innocence; it is profiting by his early sensibilty, to throw into the young man's heart the first seeds of humanity. An advantage so much the more valuable, as it is the only period of life, in which the same care is likely to be attended with real success.

I have constantly observed that young people, who have been corrupted early, and given to women and debauch, are cruel and inhuman: the fire of their constitution renders them impatient, vindictive, and furious; their imagination filled with a single

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a ſingle object, rejects every other; they are ſtrangers to mercy and pity; they would ſacrifice father and mother, nay, the whole univerſe, to the moſt trifling pleaſures. On the contrary, a young man, trained up in a happy ſimplicity, feels himſelf inclined by nature to the tender paſſions; his heart is moved when he ſees his fellow-creatures in pain; he is tranſported with joy, when he beholds his comrade once more, he graſps him cloſe in his arms, and his eyes overflow with tenderneſs; he is ſenſible to ſhame for having diſpleaſed; to regret, for having offended. If the heat of blood throws him at any time into a paſſion, the next minute the goodneſs of his heart diſplays itſelf in marks of repentance; he weeps, he groans for the injury he has committed; he would willingly, at the price of his blood, redeem that which he has ſpilt; his paſſion entirely ſubſides; his pride is humbled from the conſideration of his fault. Is he himſelf offended? In the very height of his paſſion, an excuſe, a word diſarms him; with as much chearfulneſs is he ready to forgive the faults of others, as he is willing to repair his own. Youth is not the age either of revenge or hatred; it is that of commiſeration, mercy, and generoſity. Yes, I maintain it, and I am not afraid of being contradicted from experience: a youth of a good natural diſpoſition, and who has preſerved his innocence till the age of twenty, is at that time of life the beſt, the moſt generous, the moſt tender, and the moſt amiable creature upon earth. You ſay, you never ſaw any ſuch youth: I believe ſo indeed; your philoſophers, educated in the corrupt notions of a college, know nothing of the matter.

It is the weakneſs of man that renders him ſociable; our common miſeries incline our hearts to humanity; we ſhould have no duties towards our ſpecies, if we were not men. Every attachment is a mark

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mark of incapacity; if we did not want the aſſiſtance of each other, we ſhould never think of entering into a ſtate of union and ſociety. Thus even from our weakneſs ariſes our tranſient felicity. A being completely happy is ſolitary; God alone enjoys abſolute happineſs. But who has any idea of the divine majeſty? If an imperfect being were ſufficient for himſelf, what, according to our notion, would be his enjoyments? He would be ſingle, he would be miſerable. I do not apprehend that he, who has no need of any thing, is capable of love; nor do I conceive, that he who is incapable of love, is ſuſceptible of happineſs.

From thence it follows, that our attachment to our fellow-creatures, is not founded ſo much on ſympathizing with their pleaſures, as with their wants; for thus we perceive much better the identity of our nature, and the ſecurity of their attachment to us. As our common wants unite us by intereſt, our common miſeries unite us by affection. The ſight of a happy man is more apt to inſpire envy than love; we would willingly charge him with uſurping a right of excluſive happineſs; and our ſelf-love is alſo a ſufferer, by making us ſenſible that ſuch a man has no need of our aſſiſtance. But who does not lament the hard fate of the wretch he beholds in torture? Who is he that would not be glad to reſcue him from his miſery, if a wiſh would do it? Our imagination puts us rather in the place of the miſerable, than in that of the happy man; we feel ourſelves more connected with one ſtate than with the other. Pity is ſurely a ſweet paſſion, becauſe, while we ſubſtitute ourſelves in the place of the unhappy ſufferer, we ſtill have the pleaſure of being exempt from his pain. Envy, on the contrary, is a bitter ſenſation, becauſe the happineſs of another, ſo far from putting the envious perſon in his place, gives him the pain of not enjoying it;

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it: it seems, as if the one exempted us from the evils he suffers, the other deprived us of the blessings he enjoys.

If you are therefore desirous of encouraging the first motions of a growing sensibility in the heart of a young man, and of bending his mind towards beneficence and humanity; do not sow the seeds of pride, vanity, and envy in his breast, by a deceitful picture of human happiness; do not dazzle his eyes with the pomp of courts, the statelines of palaces, and the charms of theatrical entertaiments; do not carry him about to routs and public assemblies. Let him not see the glittering outside of polite society, till he is capable of estimating its intrinsic value. To shew him the world before he knows human nature, is not forming, but corrupting his mind; is not giving him instruction, but leading him into error.

Men are not by nature kings, grandees, courtiers, nor possessed of opulence; we are all born poor, and naked; all subject to the miseries of life, to vexations, misfortunes, necessities, and pain of every kind; in short, we are all condemned to die. This is the real state of man; from this no body living can plead an exemption. Begin therefore with studying that part of our nature, which most essentially constitutes humanity.

At sixteen, a youth knows what it is to suffer, for he has suffered himself; but he is scarcely sensible that other beings also suffer. To see without feeling it, is no knowledge; for as I have often said before, a child having no idea of what others feel, knows no evils except his own; but when the first display of the sensible faculties has kindled the fire of his imagination, he begins to have a fellow-feeling, to be moved with the complaints of others, and to sympathize in their sorrow. Then it is that the melancholy picture of suffering humanity must ex-

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cite in his heart the firſt emotion of tenderneſs and compaſſion.

If this critical ſituation is not ſo eaſily obſerved in your pupils, who is to be blamed? You begin ſo early with teaching them the language of ſentiment, that as they always deliver themſelves in the ſame manner of expreſſion, they turn your inſtructions againſt yourſelf, and leave you no poſſibility of judging when they ceaſe to lie, and begin really to feel what they pretend. But look at my Emilius; at this very period, he has neither felt, nor pretends to this ſenſation. Before he knew what it was to love, he never ſaid to any perſon, *I love you dearly*; he has not been taught what countenance to aſſume upon entering into the apartment of his father, or of his mother, or of his governor. When any of them were indiſpoſed, he has not been inſtructed in the art of affecting a ſorrow which he did not really feel. He has not feigned to weep upon the death of a perſon; for he knows not the meaning of the word *death*. The inſenſibility of his heart affects alſo his manners. Indifferent to every thing except himſelf, like other children, he is attached to no body; the difference only is, that he is not falſe like them, nor does he pretend to affection.

Emilius having reflected but very little on ſenſible beings, it will be a long time before he knows what it is to ſuffer and to die. Cries and lamentations will begin to raiſe his compaſſion. The ſight of ſtreaming blood will oblige him to turn away his eye; the convulſions of a dying animal will fill his mind with a kind of anguiſh, before he knows from whence theſe emotions proceed. Had he received no education at all, he would not have felt theſe ſenſations; had he acquired more knowledge, he would have known their ſource; already he has compared too many ideas to be altogether inſenſible, but not ſufficiently to conceive what he feels.

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This is the origin of pity, and the first relative ſenſation that affects the heart, according to the order of nature. To be ſenſible of compaſſion, a child ought to know that there are beings like himſelf, which ſuffer what he has ſuffered, which feel the pains that he has experienced, or others of a ſimilar nature, to which he knows himſelf liable. And indeed, how ſhould we be excited to pity, but by being tranſported beyond ourſelves, and identified with the ſuffering animal; that is, by quitting, in ſome meaſure, our own exiſtence, to aſſume his? We ſuffer only, inaſmuch as we judge he ſuffers; it is not in ourſelves, but in him we ſuffer. No man therefore feels any ſenſibility, but when his imagination is warmed, and begins to tranſport him beyond himſelf.

To excite and encourage this growing ſenſibility, to trace and direct it through its natural propenſity, it will be neceſſary to ſet ſuch objects before our youth, as will employ the expanſive force of his heart, dilate and extend it to other beings, and detach him from himſelf; and at the ſame time to conceal from his view all ſuch objects as only tend to contract the mind, and to weaken the ſpring of the tender affections: that is to ſay, it will be neceſſary to excite him to goodneſs, humanity, pity, benevolence, and all the ſoft attractive paſſions, ſo naturally pleaſing to man; and to prevent the growth of envy, covetouſneſs, hatred, and of all the cruel turbulent paſſions, which render the ſenſibility not only null, if I may ſo ſpeak, but negative, and are the torment of him who feels them.

I think I might recapitulate all the foregoing reflections in two or three maxims, extremely clear, preciſe, and eaſy to retain.

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The FIRST MAXIM.

It is not in human nature to put ourſelves in the place of thoſe who are more happy than ourſelves, but of thoſe only who are more miſerable.

If we meet with any exceptions to this rule, they are rather apparent than real. Thus we do not ſubſtitute ourſelves in the place of the rich or the great, to whom we become attached; even in the ſincerity of our attachment, we only appropriate to ourſelves a part of his good fortune. Sometimes we love a perſon in his adverſity; but ſo long as he flouriſhes, he has no true friend except him, who is not a dupe to appearances, and who laments his fate, more than he envies his proſperity.

We are affected with the happineſs of ſome particular ſtates, for inſtance, of a rural or paſtoral life. The pleaſure in ſeeing thoſe good people happy, is not poiſoned by envy; we intereſt ourſelves really in their favour: and why ſo? Becauſe we think we are at liberty to deſcend to that ſtate of peace and innocence, and to enjoy the ſame felicity: it is a laſt reſource that conveys none but agreeable ideas, ſince the will alone is ſufficient to obtain it. There is always a pleaſure in viewing your own ſtores, though you never make uſe of them.

From thence it follows, that to diſpoſe a youth to humanity, inſtead of dazzling his eyes with the ſplendour of the great, you ſhould exhibit its gloomy ſide, in order to render it the object of his apprehenſions. He will then of courſe ſtrike out a path to happineſs, as yet untrod by human foot.

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The SECOND MAXIM.

We pity in others only thoſe evils, from which we do not think ourſelves exempt.

Non ignara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.

I know nothing ſo beautiful, ſo ſenſible, ſo ſtriking, and ſo true, as the foregoing verſe.

How comes it, that kings have no compaſſion for their ſubjects? It is becauſe they think they ſhall never be ſubject to human viciſſitudes. Why are the opulent ſo hard-hearted to the poor? Becauſe they have no apprehenſion of falling into poverty. What is the reaſon, that the nobility have ſo great a contempt for the common people? Becauſe a nobleman is ſure of never being a plebeian. Why are the Turks, generally ſpeaking, more humane, and more hoſpitable, than we? Becauſe from the nature of their arbitrary government, the grandeur and opulence of individuals being always tottering, and at the mercy of a deſpotic ſovereign, they do not look upon the ſtate of debaſement and miſery as foreign to themſelves *; every man may be to-morrow in the ſame unhappy circumſtances, as the beggar he relieves to-day. This reflection, which continually occurs in peruſing the oriental tales, renders them much more affecting, than all our dry morality.

Do not therefore accuſtom your pupil to look haughtily down, from the pinnacle of his glory, upon the miſery of the unfortunate, and the hardſhips of the wretched ſons of men; do not expect he will have

* This ſeems to have admitted of ſome alteration lately: the conditions in life are become more ſettled, and the people in conſequence are grown more obdurate.

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compaſſion for them, if he conſiders himſelf as almoſt of a different ſpecies. Endeavour to make him ſenſible, that the fate of the unhappy may one day be his own; that their misfortunes have ſprung up in the very path he treads, and that a thouſand unforeſeen and unavoidable events may reduce him to the ſame miſery. Teach him neither to depend on his birth, nor his health, nor his riches; ſhew him all the viciſſitudes of fortune; lay before him the frequent examples of perſons, who, from a much higher ſtation than his, have tumbled down much lower than thoſe wretches; whether owing to their fault or not, is at preſent out of the queſtion. For what does he know concerning the nature of a fault? Never diſturb the natural progreſs of his knowledge, nor give him any inſtructions, but ſuch as are ſuited to his capacity. He has no occaſion to be very learned, in order to be convinced, that no human prudence in the world can enſure his life for an hour; that no one can anſwer whether, before he goes to-bed, he ſhall not have a violent fit of the gravel; whether he ſhall be rich or poor a month hence; or whether, in a year perhaps, he ſhall not be a ſlave on board an Algerine galley. But take ſpecial care you do not mention theſe things to him coolly, after the manner of his catechiſm; let him behold, let him feel the calamities of life. Endeavour to terrify his imagination with the idea of thoſe perils, by which every man is continually environed; let him ſee thoſe gulphs all round him, and in hearing your lively deſcription, let him preſs near your perſon, to avoid the dangerous precipice. You will ſay, that this will make him timid and puſillanimous. This we ſhall afterwards examine; let us begin with making him humane; that is our preſent buſineſs.

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The THIRD MAXIM.

The pity we have for other people's misfortunes, is not measured by the quantity of evil, but by the sensibility we suppose in the person that suffers.

We never pity an unfortunate man, but so far as we think him sensible of his misery. The natural sensation of evil is more limited than it appears; but it is the memory, by which we feel its continuance, and the imagination, which extends it to futurity, that render us truly worthy of compassion. This, I apprehend, is one reason why we are less affected with the pain and labour of brute animals, than with those of men, though the common sensibility ought to make us equally sympathize with both. We never pity a dray-horse in the stable, because we do not suppose, that while he is eating his hay, he thinks of the blows he has received to-day, or of the fatigues he must undergo to-morrow. Neither do we pity a sheep we see grazing in the field, though we know it will be soon slaughtered; because, we presume, it does not foresee its destiny. Extending these ideas, we grow hardened in the same manner in regard to the sufferings of human creatures; and the rich make themselves easy, in regard to their behaviour towards the poor, by supposing them so stupid as not to feel their misery. In general I judge of the value every man sets upon the happiness of his fellow-creatures, by his conduct towards them. It is natural we should undervalue the felicity of those, for whom we have a hearty contempt. Be not therefore surprized, if the politicians talk of the common people with so much disdain; nor if the generality of philosophers affect to make man so wicked a being.

It is the common people that constitute the bulk

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of mankind; the reſt above that order are ſo few in number, that they are not worth our conſideration. Man is the ſame creature in all ſtates; if ſo, that which is moſt numerous deſerves the greateſt reſpect. In the eye of a thinking perſon, all civil diſtinctions vaniſh; he beholds the ſame paſſions and the ſame ſenſations in the peaſant and the nobleman; the only difference he diſcerns is in their language, in a little refinement of expreſſion: if there be any eſſential difference between them, it is to the diſadvantage of thoſe who are the greateſt diſſemblers. The populace ſhew themſelves in their real colours, and are not amiable; but the great are obliged to diſguiſe themſelves; were they to appear in their native dreſs, they would ſtrike us with horror.

There is the ſame portion, according to our philoſophers, of happineſs and miſery in all ſtates: a maxim equally pernicious and abſurd. For, if all people are happy alike, what occaſion have I to put myſelf to an inconvenience for any man, either to promote his happineſs, or to reſcue him from miſery? Let each abide where he is: let the ſlave drag his chain, let the ſick man bear his infirmities, let the beggar periſh; they would gain nothing by changing their condition. The ſame philoſophers enumerate the troubles of the rich man, and demonſtrate the vanity of his pleaſures: how glaring a ſophiſm! The troubles of the rich man are not owing to his ſtate, but to himſelf, who makes an ill uſe of them. Were he even more wretched than the poor, he would ſtill deſerve no pity; ſince his miſery is of his own procuring, and it depends upon himſelf to be happy. But the diſtreſſes of the poor man proceed from the nature of his condition, from the ſeverity of his fate. No habit can render him inſenſible to fatigue, to thirſt, to hunger; neither wit nor wiſdom will protect him againſt the evils inſeparable from his ſtation. What does Epictetus gain, by foreſeeing that his

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his master is going to break his leg? Does this hinder him from breaking it? On the contrary, foresight is an addition to his misery. Were the vulgar to be really as sensible as we suppose them stupid, how could they either think or act differently from what they do at present? Examine the people of that class, and you will find, that, with a difference in language, they have as much wit, and more good sense, than yourself. You should therefore respect your species: remember, that it is essentially composed of the common people; that if all the kings and philosophers were to be taken away, they would not be missed, and affairs would be conducted as well without them. In a word, teach your pupil to love all mankind, and even those who rail against their own species; contrive so, that he shall place himself in no one class, but be found in all: when you mention mankind in his presence, be sure you do it with tenderness and pity, but never with contempt. Man! do not disgrace mankind.

It is by these and the like methods, diametrically opposite to those in present use, that we should endeavour to penetrate into the heart of a young pupil, in order to raise the first emotions of nature, to unfold her operations, and to expand them towards his fellow-creatures. To which I must add, that it behoves him to banish all views of private interest from these emotions; especially, let him guard against vanity, emulation, or glory, and all those sensations, which oblige us to compare ourselves to others; for these comparisons are never made without some impression of hatred against those who contend with us for the preference, were it only in our own estimation. Then we must either shut our eyes, or be highly provoked against our rival; we must be envious, or insensible. Let us endeavour to avoid this alternative. You will tell me, that these passions, which I reckon so dangerous, will sooner or later take root, whether

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we will or no. I do not deny it; every thing has its time and place; I affirm only, that we ought not to encourage their growth.

Such is the plan we muſt abſolutely reſolve to follow: examples and details are of no uſe on this occaſion, becauſe here we run into an almoſt infinite diviſion of characters; each example would not perhaps ſuit one in a hundred thouſand. This is alſo the period, at which the judicious preceptor begins to exerciſe the real office of a philoſophical obſerver, and to ſound the heart of his pupil, at the ſame time that he forms it to virtue. While the youth is as yet unpractiſed in the art of diſguiſing himſelf, you may perceive by his air, his eye, his geſture, the impreſſion he receives from each particular object; his countenance diſcloſes the motions of his ſoul; by obſervation and care, you may foreſee their riſe, and be able at length to direct them.

It is generally obſerved, that the greateſt part of mankind are ſoon affected with objects that convey the idea of ſuffering, as blood, wounds, cries, groans, and every painful operation. The idea of final diſſolution being more compounded, does not make the ſame impreſſion: the notion of death has a ſlower and weaker effect, becauſe we have not had the experience of that fatal period; one muſt have been preſent at the melancholy ſcene, to be ſenſible of the agonies of a dying perſon. But when once this image is well imprinted in the mind, there is no ſight whatever more dreadful; whether it be owing to the appearance of total deſtruction, or becauſe being convinced, that this criſis is inevitable, we are more ſtrongly affected with a ſituation, which muſt ſooner or later be our own fate.

Theſe impreſſions have their modifications, and different degrees, which depend on the particular character and habits of each individual; but they are univerſal, and no body can claim exemption from them.

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them. There are other impreſſions, ſlower and leſs general, which are more peculiar to perſons of great ſenſibility. They are thoſe we receive from the internal ſufferings, the anguiſh and ſorrow of our fellow-creatures. There are people who cannot be affected, but by cries and tears; the ſilent grief of a heart pining with long diſtreſs, can draw no ſighs from their breaſts; the ſight of a diſmal countenance, of a pale complexion, of an hollow eye quite exhauſted of tears, has no effect upon their minds. They conſider the inward ſufferings as nothing at all. They judge without feeling; therefore you muſt expect nothing from them, but inflexible rigor and cruelty. They may be upright and juſt, but never will they be merciful and generous. I ſay, they may poſſibly be juſt, if yet juſtice is to be found in a breaſt devoid of mercy.

But do not be in a hurry to judge of young people by this rule, eſpecially of thoſe, who having been properly educated, have no idea of moral pain, which they have never experienced. For, once more I ſay it, they cannot have compaſſion for evils of which they have no idea; but this apparent inſenſibility, proceeding merely from ignorance, is quickly changed into tenderneſs and pity, when they begin to be ſenſible, that there are a thouſand evils in human life, to which they were intire ſtrangers. As for my Emilius, if he has diſcovered ſimplicity and good ſenſe in his infancy, I am very ſure he will have an exquiſite ſenſibility in his youth; for the truth of ſenſation depends greatly on the juſtneſs of ideas.

But why ſhould I introduce my Emilius into this melancholy ſcene? More than one of my readers will doubtleſs reproach me with having forgot my former reſolutions, and the conſtant happineſs which I had promiſed my pupil. Such ſcenes of miſery and pain! Is this the happineſs, this the enjoyment of a youth juſt entering into life? His gloomy

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preceptor, who deſigned to educate him in ſo tender a manner, ſeems to have changed his mind, and to train him up to pain and ſorrow. Such will be the objections; but what is that to me? I promiſed to make him really, not ſeemingly happy: is it my fault, if you are ſtill dupes to appearance, and miſtake it for reality?

Suppoſe two young men have juſt gone through their firſt ſtage of education, and are entering the world by oppoſite roads. One of them inſtantly mounts up to Olympus, and is introduced into the company of the gods. He is preſented at court, mixes with the nobility, with the opulent, and the fine women. I will ſuppoſe him careſſed wherever he goes, without examining into the effect, which this reception may have upon his reaſon; but I take it for granted, that he behaves with prudence. Pleaſures ſolicit his acceptance every day; new objects ſtrike his eyes, and he ſeems to enjoy the gaudy ſcene. You ſee him attentive, eager, and curious; his firſt rapture occaſions your ſurprize; you think him content: but look into the ſtate of his mind; you fancy he enjoys this ſhow; I believe, it rather gives him uneaſineſs.

What does he perceive as ſoon as his eyes are opened? A multitude of pretended pleaſures, of which he had no idea, and many others, of which he has had but a momentary enjoyment, ſo that they ſeem to have preſented themſelves, only to raiſe a regret for their departure. If he goes to ſee a palace, you perceive by his reſtleſs curioſity, that he aſks himſelf, why his father's ſeat is not equally magnificent. By all his queſtions you find, that he inceſſantly compares himſelf to the maſter of that palace; and every mortifying circumſtance he meets with in that compariſon, only ſhocks his pride, and ſtimulates his vanity. If he beholds a young man better dreſſed than himſelf, I perceive he ſecretly repines at the avarice of his parents.

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reats. If he happens to have a genteeler ſuit of clothes than another, yet he has perhaps the mortification of ſeeing that perſon eclipſe him, either by a ſuperiority of birth or wit, and all the embroidery humbled before a plain coat. Does he make a figure at an aſſembly? or does he riſe on tip-toe, to render himſelf more conſpicuous to the company? Every man of them all feels a ſecret inclination to pull down the pride of the young coxcomb. They all join as it were in concert againſt him: the grave gentleman with his diſdainful looks, and the ſimpering wag with his raillery, are ſure to attack him; and even were he openly deſpiſed by one ſingle perſon, that alone would inſtantly poiſon the applauſe of all the reſt.

Let us ſuppoſe him poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment; let him have the moſt agreeable parts, and the higheſt merit; let him be handſome, witty and amiable; his company of courſe will be deſired by the ladies: but by courting his acquaintance, before he has any inclinations for the ſex, they will make a fool of him rather than a lover. He will meet with ſucceſsful adventures, but he will have no ſoul or paſſion for enjoyment. His deſires being always anticipated, can have no time to ripen; in the boſom of pleaſure, he is tired of reſtraint; that amiable part of the creation, formed for the happineſs of man, fills him with ſatiety and diſguſt, before he knows the ſex: if he continues to viſit the fair, it is entirely owing to vanity; and were he at length to be ſincerely attached, yet he would not be the only youth of bright parts and of a likely figure, nor would his miſtreſſes always prove ſuch mirrors of fidelity.

I ſay nothing of the hurry and noiſe, the treachery, the guilt and remorſe inſeparable from ſuch a kind of life. The experience of the world, it is well known, weans a man from it; I am only ſpeaking

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ſpeaking at preſent of the diſguſt that follows the firſt deception.

How great the contraſt for one who had been hitherto confined to the little circle of his own family and friends, and ſaw himſelf the only object of their utmoſt care and attention; to enter on a ſudden into a ſcene of life, where he is conſidered in ſo trifling a light; to ſee himſelf loſt as it were in a new circle, when he had been ſo long the center of his own! What affronts! what humiliations muſt he undergo, before he loſes among ſtrangers the prejudices he has imbibed among his friends, in relation to his own importance! While he was a child, every thing yielded to his deſires, every one ſtrove to careſs him; now he is grown a young man, he muſt ſubmit to all the world; or if he forgets himſelf but never ſo little, and retains his former airs, the ſevere leſſons he hears, will ſoon make him ſenſible of his preſent ſituation. The habit of obtaining with eaſe the objects of his deſires, diſpoſes him to wiſh for many things, of which he finds himſelf continually diſappointed. Every thing that flatters his vanity, tempts him; whatever others poſſeſs, he would be glad to have alſo; he covets every thing he ſees, and envies all the world; he would willingly be poſſeſſed of univerſal dominion; he is puffed up with vanity; the fire of inordinate paſſions inflames his youthful breaſt; jealouſy and envy take root in the ſame ſoil; all the devouring paſſions torment him at the ſame time; their agitation attends him daily in the gay ſcenes of life, and he brings it home with him every night. He retires to bed diſſatisfied with himſelf, and with the world; he lies down to reſt, his head filled with a thouſand idle projects, and diſturbed with a thouſand whimſies; even in his ſleep he dreams of the chimerical pleaſures, with which his deſires torment him, and which

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he will never be able to obtain. There is your pupil; now you ſhall ſee mine.

If the firſt thing that preſents itſelf happens to be a melancholy object, the firſt reflection he makes is attended with a pleaſing idea: obſerving the great number of evils from which he is exempt, he feels himſelf more happy than he imagined. He ſympathizes in the afflictions of his fellow-creatures; but this ſympathy is voluntary and ſweet. He enjoys at the ſame time the compaſſion he feels for their evils, and the happineſs that exempts him from their fate; he perceives himſelf in that ſtate of ſtrength which tranſports us beyond ourſelves, and enables us to diffuſe around us the activity which is ſuperfluous to our welfare. In order to pity another's misfortune, we doubtleſs ought to know it; but there is no occaſion to feel it. When we have ſuffered, or been afraid of ſuffering, we compaſſionate thoſe who actually ſuffer; but when the misfortune falls to our ſhare, we pity none but ourſelves. Now every body being ſubject to the miſeries of life, if no man grants to others more than the ſenſibility he does not actually want on his own account, the conſequence is, that pity muſt be a very pleaſing ſenſation, ſince it is a proof of our felicity; and, on the contrary, an obdurate man muſt be ever unhappy, becauſe his frame and temper of mind afford him no redundant ſenſibility, to beſtow on the ſufferings of others.

We judge of human happineſs too much by appearances; we ſuppoſe it where it leaſt reſides; we look for it where it cannot be found. Mirth is a very dubious ſign of felicity. A gay perſon is oftentimes an unfortunate man, who endeavours to conceal his ſituation from the reſt of the world, and to forget himſelf. Thoſe who appear ſo chearful, ſo open, and ſo ſerene, in the midſt of an aſſembly, are generally morooſe and peeviſh at home; their domeſtics pay for the good nature of which they

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are ſo liberal in company. True content is neither gay nor noiſy; thoſe who enjoy it, are apt to think and reflect, and ſeem to be afraid of loſing ſo exquiſite a reliſh. A man truly happy, talks and laughs but little; he contracts his felicity as it were within his own breaſt. Noiſy paſtimes and tumultuous joys, only conceal the diſreliſh of life. But melancholy is the friend of contentment; tender emotions and tears accompany the ſweeteſt pleaſures, and even exceſſive joy is more frequently productive of tears than of laughter.

Though the multitude and variety of amuſements may ſeem at firſt ſight to contribute to happineſs, and an uniform ſcene of life appear tireſome; yet upon enquiring more attentively into things, we find that the moſt delicious temper of the mind conſiſts in moderate enjoyment, ſo as to exclude every anxious deſire and tireſome diſguſt. The inquietude of deſire is productive of curioſity and inconſtancy; turbulent pleaſures are ſucceeded by wearineſs and diſcontent. A perſon is never tired of his ſituation, if he knows of none more agreeable. The ſavages are of all people upon earth the leaſt curious, and leaſt tired of their condition; they look upon every object with an eye of indifference; they do not enjoy things, but themſelves; they ſpend their days in doing nothing, yet their time never hangs heavily on their hands.

The man of the world is all diſguiſe. As he hardly ever reflects, he is even a ſtranger to himſelf, and uneaſy, when he is obliged to look into his own breaſt: his inward ſituation is nothing to him; the outward appearance is all he values.

I cannot avoid imagining the young fop above mentioned, to have ſomething in his air extremely finical and affected, ſomething forbidding to perſons of a rational taſte; and on the other hand, I fan-

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cy my pupil to have an open engaging countenance, expreſſive of content, and real tranquillity of mind; inſpiring confidence and eſteem, and ſeeming to wait only for the expanſion of his heart, to give his friendſhip to thoſe who approach him. The characteriſtic traces of the countenance are generally ſuppoſed to be no more than an unfolding of the features already ſketched out by nature. For my part, I ſhould think, that beſides this natural unfolding of the features, they are inſenſibly formed into a phyſiognomy from the frequent and habitual impreſſion of particular affections of the mind. Theſe affections are imprinted on the viſage; nothing is more certain; and when they become habitual, the impreſſions they leave there muſt be very durable. Thus it is I conceive, that the countenance is a picture of the mind, and that we may ſometimes be able to judge of one from the other, without going in ſearch of myſterious explications, which ſuppoſe a knowledge we are not endowed with.

A child has but two affections of the mind impreſſed on his countenance, joy and grief; he either laughs or cries; the intermediate paſſions are nothing: from one of theſe emotions to the other, he is making continual tranſitions. So conſtant a ſucceſſion prevents a ſettled impreſſion on his face, ſo as to form a phyſiognomy: but his ſenſibility increaſing with years, he is more powerfully and frequently affected; and then the impreſſions being much deeper, leave ſuch traces as are difficult to efface; ſo that from this habitual ſtate of the mind ariſes an arrangement of features, which in time becomes indelible. Yet it is not unuſual to ſee theſe traces vary at different ſtages of life; I have known ſeveral in that caſe myſelf; yet by diligent obſervation, I always found that thoſe perſons had alſo changed their habitual paſſions. The aſcertaining of this ſingle obſervation ſeems to be deciſive, and does

does not at all appear foreign to a treatise on education, where it is of great importance to form a right judgment of the emotions of the mind from external signs.

As my young pupil has not learnt to imitate the corrupt manners of the world, nor to feign those sentiments which he does not feel, I know not whether he will be the less amiable on that account; but this is not the matter here in question. All I know is, that he will be more affectionate; and I find it very difficult to believe, that he who loves only his own dear person, should be capable of disguising himself so artfully as to be equally agreeable with him, who, from an attachment to his fellow-creatures, derives a new sensation of happiness. But with regard to this sensation itself, I think I have said enough to direct a rational reader, and to prove that I have not contradicted myself.

I therefore return to my system, and advise you, as soon as the critical age approaches, to suffer your young pupils to be present only at such scenes as shall check, but not encourage their passions: amuse their growing imagination with objects, which instead of inflaming, shall repress the activity of their senses. Keep them far away from great towns, where the loose dress and behaviour of the women anticipate the lessons of nature, and where every scene exhibits such pleasure as ought to be concealed from their knowledge, till they are capable of chusing with propriety. Conduct them back to their former abode, where rural simplicity will suffer their passions to ripen more slowly; or if a taste for the polite arts should make them fond of the town, prevent them, by means of that very taste, from falling into a dangerous indolence. Be careful to chuse their company, their occupations, their pleasures; shew them none but modest pictures, such as shall raise, but not seduce their affections; such, as without

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inflaming their ſenſes, ſhall nouriſh their ſenſibility. Remember alſo that ſome exceſs is to be apprehended every where, and that it is very difficult to avoid all the miſchievous effects of irregular paſſion. It is not my deſign that you ſhould make your pupil attend an hoſpital or infirmary; that you ſhould continually afflict him with objects of horror and diſtreſs; that you ſhould walk with him from one hoſpital to another; or from the public jails to the place of execution. You ſhould touch, but not harden his heart, with the proſpect of human woes. Thoſe who have too frequent a repetition of the ſame ſight, do not feel the ſame impreſſions from it, as at firſt; habit accuſtoms us to every thing; what we behold too often, ceaſes to affect the imagination; and it is that which makes us feel the misfortunes of others. Thus it is, that by the conſtant ſight of ſick and dying people, the hearts of prieſts and phyſicians become callous, and void of pity. Let your pupil therefore be acquainted with the viciſſitudes in human affairs, and with the miſeries of his fellow-creatures; but let him not be too often preſent at the melancholy ſight. A ſingle object well choſen, and exhibited to him at a proper time, will afford him matter of pity and reflection for a whole month. It is not ſo much the exhibition of an object, as his revolving it in his mind, that determines his judgment; and the durableneſs of the impreſſion is alſo leſs owing to the object, than to the point of view, in which its idea is revived. Thus by a proper management of examples, leſſons, and images, you will blunt the edge of the ſenſes for a conſiderable time, and divert the inclinations of nature, while you follow her own directions.

In proportion as he improves in knowledge, let the ideas you inculcate be adapted to his underſtanding; and as his deſires kindle, look out for ſuch objects as are proper to extinguiſh the flame. An old officer, as much

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renowned for his good morals as for his courage, told me, that in the prime of his youth he had a ſtrong inclination to women; and that his father, a man of ſenſe, and religion, uſed every endeavour to reſtrain it: but perceiving that all his care was likely to prove ineffectual, he bethought himſelf of carrying his ſon to an hoſpital for people infected with the venereal diſeaſe. Without any previous notice of his deſign, he introduced him into the ward, where a number of thoſe unhappy wretches were undergoing a terrible proceſs, in expiation of the crimes by which they had contracted that loathſome diſorder. At ſo frightful a ſpectacle, which ſhocked all the ſenſes, the young man had like to have fainted. *Go, profligate wretch*, ſaid the father to him, in a vehement tone, *follow thy vile inclinations; ſoon wilt thou think thyſelf happy to be admitted into this receptacle, where thou wilt oblige thy father to thank God, that thou haſt died a victim to thy infamous ſufferings.*

Theſe few words, joined to the ſtriking picture before his eyes, made ſuch an impreſſion on the young man, as could never be effaced. Condemned by his profeſſion to ſpend his youthful days in fortified towns, he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to all the raillery of his comrades, than to imitate their licentiouſneſs. *I was a man*, ſaid he, *I have had my frailties; but from that time to this, I could never behold a common proſtitute without horror.* Preceptors! uſe but few words; learn to make a proper choice of time, place, and circumſtances; let your inſtruction conſiſt of examples, and you may be ſure of their taking effect.

In what manner the time of infancy is employed, ſignifies but little. The abuſes introduced during that period, are not paſt remedy, and the good that might have been communicated, is

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attainable at a later period; but it is otherwiſe in regard to the age when man really begins to live. This period is never of ſufficient continuance for the uſe we ought to make of it; and its importance requires a conſtant attention; which is the reaſon of my inſiſting ſo much on the art of extending its duration. One of the firſt precepts in the art of cultivation, is to keep nature as far back as poſſible. Let the progreſs of your young pupil be ſlow and certain; let him not become a man, as ſoon as nature permits. While the body grows, the ſpirits deſigned to give life to the blood, and to ſtrengthen the fibres, are going through a due preparation. If you make them take a different courſe, and that which is intended for the completion of one human body, be rendered ſubſervient to the formation of another, they both remain in a ſtate of infirmity, and nature's work will be left imperfect. The operations of the mind feel the effect of this perverſion; and the ſoul, as feeble as the body, performs its functions with the utmoſt languor. Large robuſt limbs do not conſtitute courage or genius; and I can eaſily conceive why ſtrength of mind ſhould not accompany that of the body, eſpecially when the organs of communication between the two ſubſtances are otherwiſe ill diſpoſed. But how perfect ſoever they may be in this reſpect, they will always act but feebly, if they have no other principle than a poor impoveriſhed blood, deſtitute of that ſubſtance, which gives force and motion to every ſpring in the whole machine. Generally ſpeaking, we obſerve a greater vigour of mind in men, whoſe youthful years have been preſerved from too early a corruption, than in thoſe whoſe irregularities began with the power of indulging them; and no doubt but this is the reaſon why people of good morals are for the moſt part ſuperior in courage and ſenſe, to thoſe who lead profligate lives. The latter ſhine only in ſome little ſubtle abilities, called

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artifice and cunning; but the grand and noble advantages of reaſon and wiſdom, which enable mankind to engage in great and virtuous undertakings, to atchieve ſuch exploits as are honourable to themſelves, and uſeful to ſociety, are very rarely to be found, except among the former.

Tutors are apt to complain, that the natural fire of this age renders youth intractable. I grant it does; but is it not their own fault? When once they have ſuffered this fire to vent itſelf through the ſenſes, can they be ignorant that it will take no other courſe? Will the tedious inſipid ſermons of a pedant be able to cancel the ideas of pleaſure in the mind of his pupil? Will they baniſh from his heart thoſe inſatiable deſires? Will they extinguiſh that fire of conſtitution, with the uſe of which he is ſo well acquainted? Will he not be irritated againſt the obſtacles that oppoſe the only felicity of which he has any idea? And while he finds himſelf reſtrained by a ſevere law, without being convinced of its reaſonableneſs, in what other light ſhall he be able to conſider it, but as the capricious averſion of a man, who only ſeeks to torment him? Is it therefore in the leaſt ſurprizing, that he ſhould mutiny and ſhew the ſame averſion towards his maſter?

I can eaſily conceive, that by treating your pupil with indulgence, you may render your ſituation more tolerable, and preſerve the appearance of authority. But I do not underſtand the uſe of that authority, which is preſerved only by encouraging the vices it ought to repreſs; it is juſt as if a riding-maſter, in order to tame an unruly horſe, were to make him leap down a precipice.

This fire of youth, inſtead of being a bar to education, is the very thing by which it is compleatly finiſhed; it is that which gives you hold of a young man's heart, when he ceaſes to be weaker than yourſelf.

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ſelf. His firſt affections are the reins with which you ſhould direct all his motions; he was free, and now he is enſlaved. So long as he was inſenſible to love, he depended only on himſelf and on his wants; as ſoon as he begins to feel this ſoft paſſion, he depends on his attachments. Thus the firſt links are formed, which unite him to his ſpecies. By directing his early ſenſibility towards that object, you muſt not imagine that it will at firſt embrace the whole ſpecies, or that he will apprehend the meaning of the word *mankind*. No; this ſenſibility will at firſt be confined to his equals, and his equals will not be ſtrangers, but thoſe with whom he has had connections, thoſe whom cuſtom or habit has rendered neceſſary or dear to him; thoſe whom he finds to have the ſame way of thinking and feeling with himſelf; thoſe whom he ſees expoſed to the pain and trouble which he has ſuffered, and ſenſible of the pleaſures which he has taſted; thoſe, in ſhort, who by greater marks of a conformity of nature, increaſe his diſpoſition to ſelf-love. After he has improved his diſpoſition a thouſand ways, after a variety of reflections on his own ſenſations, and thoſe of others; he will be capable of rendering his notions more general, under the abſtract idea of humanity, and of adding his private affections to thoſe which are to unite him to his ſpecies.

As he becomes capable of attachment, he grows ſenſible of it in others *, and for that very reaſon he is attentive to the marks of this attachment. Do you ſee what a new empire you are going to have

* There may be attachment without any return; but we cannot ſay the ſame of friendſhip. The latter is an exchange, a contract, like any other, but the moſt ſacred of all. The word *friend* has no other correlative, but itſelf. Every man who is not the friend of his friend, is certainly an impoſtor; for it is only by returning, or pretending to return friendſhip, that we become capable of obtaining it.

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over him? How numerous the ties with which you bind his heart, before he is aware of it? How ſenſibly will he be affected, when caſting his eyes upon himſelf, he perceives the ſervices you have done him; when he compares himſelf to the other young fellows of his age, and you to the other governors? I ſay, when he perceives, but mind you never mention it to him; if you do, from that inſtant it will eſcape his notice. If you inſiſt on his obeying you, in return for the care you have taken of him, he will think he has been deceived; he will conclude, that under the pretence of ſerving him, your intent was to bind him in a contract, to which he never conſented. In vain would you reply, that what you require of him, is for his own good; the objection is, you require it, and in virtue of what you have done without his conſent. When a poor fellow takes a trifle of money, pretended as a gift, and finds himſelf inliſted againſt his will, you exclaim againſt the injuſtice; and are not you more unjuſt to demand of your pupil a return for obligations which he never accepted?

Ingratitude would be more rare, if benefits upon uſury were leſs frequent. We love thoſe who do us good; this is a natural ſenſation. Ingratitude is not ingrafted in man, but intereſt is: there is leſs ingratitude among people that have been obliged, than there are views of intereſt in thoſe who confer the obligation. If you ſell me your favours, I ſhall haggle about the price; but if you pretend to make me a preſent, only to bargain with me afterwards, you deal unfairly. It is their being gratuitous, that renders them ineſtimable. The heart receives no laws but from itſelf; ſhould you attempt to enſlave it, you ſet it at liberty; by ſetting it at liberty, you captivate its affections.

When the fiſherman throws his bait into the water, the fiſh gather about him without any miſtruſt;

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but when caught by the hook, which lay concealed under the bait, they perceive him draw the line, they endeavour to make their eſcape. Is the fiſherman the benefactor? Are the fiſh ungrateful? Was there ever an inſtance that a perſon forgot his benefactor, though the latter had forgot him? On the contrary, he always talks of him with pleaſure; he never thinks of him but with tenderneſs and emotion; and if perchance he finds an opportunity of making him a return for paſt favours, with what inward ſatisfaction does he diſcharge his tribute of gratitude? With what joy does he make himſelf known to him? With what tranſport does he ſay to him, It is now my turn! Such is the voice of nature; never was a real benefit productive of ingratitude.

If gratitude be therefore a natural ſenſation, and you do not fruſtrate the effect of it by your own fault, aſſure yourſelf that as ſoon as your pupil begins to be ſenſible of the benefit of your care, he will be mindful to diſcharge the obligation, provided you did not fix the price yourſelf; and thus you will acquire ſuch an authority over his heart, as nothing will ever be able to ſubvert. But before you are ſure of this advantage, take care you do not forfeit it, by endeavouring to render yourſelf important in his eye. To boaſt to him of your ſervices, is making them inſupportable to him; to forget them, is refreſhing his memory. Till it be time to treat him as a man, never mention a word of what he is indebted to you, but what he owes himſelf. To render him docile, let him enjoy his liberty; leave him to himſelf, that he may court your aſſiſtance; inſpire his ſoul with the noble ſentiment of gratitude, by ſpeaking to him of his own intereſt. Hitherto I was againſt your telling him, that your attention was calculated for his good, before he was capable of underſtanding the reaſon of it; by ſuch a ſpeech he would only have been convinced of your depen-

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dance, and taken you for his valet. But now he begins to feel the paſſion of love, he is ſenſible of thoſe endearing ties, which are capable of uniting us to the beloved object; and obſerving the aſſiduity and care with which you inceſſantly watch over his welfare, he no longer conſiders it as the attachment of a ſlave, but as the affection of a friend. Nothing has ſo powerful an influence over the human heart, as the voice of undoubted friendſhip, becauſe we are certain it never ſpeaks to us but for our own intereſt. We know that a friend may be miſtaken; but we cannot believe he intends to deceive us. We may ſometimes differ from him in opinion, but never deſpiſe his counſel.

At length we enter into the moral order, after having finiſhed the ſecond ſtage of our natural exiſtence. Were this a proper place, I ſhould endeavour to ſhew you in what manner the firſt ſuggeſtions of conſcience take their riſe from the firſt emotions of the heart; and how our ſentiments of love and hatred are productive of the original notions of good and evil. I could alſo prove that juſtice and goodneſs are not mere abſtract terms or moral beings created by the underſtanding; but real affections of the mind inſtructed by reaſon, and derived by a regular progreſs from our original affections; that by reaſon alone, independent of conſcience, there is no poſſibility of eſtabliſhing any one natural law; and that the law of nature is all a chimera, if it be not founded on ſome natural deſire or want*. But I have

* Even the precept of doing as we would be done by, is founded only in conſcience and ſentiment: for what reaſon is there, ſtrictly ſpeaking, for me to act as if I were a different perſon, eſpecially when I am morally certain that I ſhall never be in his ſituation? And who will enſure me, that while I conform exactly to that rule, others will behave in the like manner towards me? The knave profits by the probity of the honeſt man, and by his own injuſtice: he would be glad that all the world were honeſt, except himſelf.

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have not undertaken to write a treatiſe of metaphyſics, or moral philoſophy, or indeed any regular courſe of ſcience; it is ſufficient for me to point out the order and progreſs of our ſenſations and knowledge, relative to our natural conſtitution. Others perhaps will demonſtrate what I have here but barely hinted.

As my Emilius has hitherto only conſidered himſelf, when he comes to caſt his eye on his fellow-creatures, he is induced to compare himſelf to them, and the firſt ſenſation ariſing from this compariſon, is the deſire of preference. This is the ſtage at which the natural love of the individual is changed into ſelfiſhneſs, and where all our paſſions, depending on that ſordid conſideration, take their firſt riſe. But in order to determine his predominant paſſions, whether he will incline chiefly to humanity, benevolence, and pity, or to cruelty, avarice, and envy, it will be proper to know what ſituation he imagines himſelf to poſſeſs in ſociety, and what kind of difficulties he may have to ſurmount, before he can arrive at the place to which he aſpires.

To direct him in this enquiry, after we have ſhewn him mankind by the accidents common to the ſpecies, we muſt now repreſent them by their differences. Here begins the meaſure of natural and civil inequality, and the ſketch of the whole order of ſociety.

himſelf. This agreement, ſay what you will, is not at all in favour of the honeſt part of mankind. But when the force of an expanſive mind identifies me with my fellow-creature, and I feel myſelf, as it were, tranſfuſed into him, I do not chuſe he ſhould ſuffer, to avoid ſuffering myſelf; I eſpouſe his intereſt for my own ſake; and the reaſon of the precept is founded in nature, which inſpires me with the deſire of my own welfare, wherever I exiſt. From whence I conclude, that the precepts of the law of nature are not founded in reaſon only; they have a ſtronger and more ſolid baſis. The love of mankind, derived from the natural love of one's ſelf, is the principle of human juſtice. The ſummary of all morality is delivered in the goſpel, under that of the law.

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We muſt ſtudy ſociety, by ſtudying mankind; and mankind, by ſtudying ſociety. They who would treat of ethics and politics ſeparately, know nothing of either. By inquiring firſt of all into the primitive relations, we ſee how mankind muſt be affected by them, and what paſſions they ought to produce. We perceive, that it is reciprocally by the progreſs of the paſſions that theſe relations are multiplied or diminiſhed. It is not ſo much the ſtrength of his arm, as the moderation of his heart, that renders man independent and free. Whoever deſires but few things, is dependent on few; but while our luxuriant deſires have been confounded with our natural neceſſities, they who have made the latter the foundation of human ſociety, have miſtaken the effect for the cauſe, and of courſe been deceived in all their reaſonings.

In the ſtate of nature there is a real and indiſſoluble equality of right, becauſe in that ſtate it is impoſſible the difference between man and man ſhould be ſo conſiderable, as to render one dependent on the other. In the ſtate of ſociety there is a nominal and chimerical equality of right, becauſe the means appointed to maintain that equality only contribute to deſtroy it; and the public force being added to that of the ſtronger to oppreſs the weaker, breaks that kind of equilibrium, which nature had eſtabliſhed between them *. From this firſt contradiction are derived all the others, which we obſerve in civil ſociety between appearance and reality. The multitude will always be ſacrificed to the ſmaller number: and the public to private intereſt. Thoſe ſpecious names of juſtice and ſubordination will be the inſtruments of violence, and the arms of iniquity. From

* The general ſpirit of laws in every country, is to favour the ſtrong againſt the weak, and the rich againſt the poor; this inconveniency is inevitable, and admits of no exception.

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whence it follows, that thoſe higher ranks of men, which pretend to be ſo uſeful to the reſt, are in reality only uſeful to themſelves, at the expence of the multitude; and thence we may form a judgment of the conſideration they deſerve, according to reaſon and juſtice. It now remains for us to ſee, whether the rank they have aſſumed is more conducive to their own happineſs, that we may be able to form a judgment of our own fate. This is now the ſtudy of moſt importance to us; but we ſhould begin with taking a ſurvey of the human heart.

Were we only to ſhew mankind to our pupil in maſquerade, there would be no occaſion at all for the exhibition; for he might always ſee them without our aſſiſtance: but ſince the maſk and the countenance are quite different things, and it is not right that a youth ſhould be deceived, whenever you paint mankind, be ſure you draw them in their real colours, not for your pupil to hate them, but to pity their caſe, and to avoid their example. This, in my opinion, is the moſt ſenſible notion a man can entertain in regard to his own ſpecies.

In this point of view, it will be proper to take a quite different road from that we have hitherto followed; and to inſtruct our youth rather by the experience of others, than by his own. Were mankind to deceive him, of courſe he would hate them; but if, while they treat him with reſpect, he ſees they cheat one another, they become the object of his pity. A view of the world, ſaid Pythagoras, reſembles that of the Olympic games. Some keep ſhops there, and think of nothing but gain; others fight bravely in purſuit of glory; others, in fine, are content with being mere ſpectators, and theſe perhaps are not in the worſt ſituation.

I ſhould be glad you were to chuſe ſuch companions for your pupil, as to make him always entertain a good opinion of thoſe he lives with; and at the ſame time let him

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him imbibe ſo juſt a notion of the world, as to have a bad opinion of all its undertakings. Let him know, that man is naturally good; let him feel it in his own heart; let him judge of his neighbour by himſelf; but, at the ſame time, let him perceive in what manner mankind are corrupted and ruined by ſociety; let him ſee that all their vices are derived from their prejudices, as their real ſource. Let him eſteem each individual, but deſpiſe the multitude; let him obſerve, that all mankind wear nearly the ſame maſk; but let him alſo know, that there are faces much handſomer than the maſks by which they are diſguiſed.

This method, it muſt be owned, has its inconveniencies, and is difficult to practiſe; for if your pupil becomes too early an obſerver, if you employ him in examining too minutely into the actions of other people, you will render him ſatirical and backbiting, opinionative, and haſty in his judgment; he will take an odious pleaſure in giving wrong conſtructions to every thing, and in viewing nothing on the fair ſide of the queſtion. He will accuſtom himſelf to the ſight of vice, and to look upon villains without horror, as we loſe our compaſſion for the unfortunate. Soon the general depravity will ſerve him rather for an example of imitation, than for a leſſon of inſtruction; he will ſay to himſelf, if man be thus formed, he ought not to endeavour to be better than others.

But if you ſhould attempt to inſtruct him by principles, and while you ſhew him the nature of the human heart, you endeavour to point out the application of thoſe external cauſes which corrupt our inclinations, and render them vicious; by thus transferring him as it were on a ſudden from corporeal to intellectual objects, you then make uſe of metaphyſical arguments above his comprehenſion. You fall into the inconveniency hitherto ſo carefully avoided, of giving him leſſons in form, and ſubſtituting

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the experience and authority of his master to his own experience, and to the natural progress of his reason.

To remove at once both these obstacles, and to display the human heart to him without endangering his own, I should chuse to give him a distant view of mankind, to exhibit human nature as it is acted upon the stage of life, at other times, and in other places, so that he might see the representation, without having it in his power to be one of the actors. This is the proper time for history; there he will be able to penetrate into the heart of man, without the assistance of philosophical lectures; there he will behold mankind, without any prejudice of interest or passion, and judge of their actions as an impartial spectator, not as their accomplice or accuser.

In order to know mankind, we should see them in scenes of action. In conversing with the world, we hear them speak; they exhibit their harangues, and conceal their actions; but in history they are laid open to our view, and we judge of them from facts. Their discourses assist us in forming a true estimate of their worth. For by comparing their actions with their words, we see, at the same time, their real and their apparent character; the more they disguise themselves, the better they are known.

Unfortunately this study has its dangers and inconveniencies of several kinds. It is difficult to place yourself in such a point of view, as to be able to judge impartially of your fellow-creatures. One of the chief vices of history, is its representing mankind generally in an unfavourable light. As it becomes interesting only by revolutions and catastrophes; so long as the people thrive and prosper under the auspices of a peaceful government, history is silent: it does not begin to speak of nations, till the period when, no longer able to conduct themselves, they either inter-

intermeddle with the affairs of their neighbours, or ſuffer their neighbours to interfere with theirs: thus hiſtory makes no figure till the nation is upon the decline; and all our hiſtories begin where they ought to finiſh. We have very exact accounts of nations, working their own deſtruction; but of thoſe which flouriſh in a peaceful ſtate, we have ſcarce any; they are too happy and too wiſe to employ the pens of hiſtorians. And indeed we ſee, even in our days, that the beſt conducted governments are thoſe of which leaſt is mentioned. Our knowledge is therefore confined to the evil actions of mankind; while there is ſcarce any notice taken of their virtues. None but the wicked are conſigned to immortality; the good are either forgotten, or turned into ridicule: and thus it is that hiſtory, as well as philoſophy, never ceaſes to calumniate mankind.

Add to this, the tranſactions deſcribed in hiſtory are far from being a faithful picture of real events. They change their form in the hiſtorian's brain; they are new-molded by his intereſts, and tainted with his prejudices. Where is the hiſtorian, who knows how to place his reader in the ſcene of action, in order to view the event as it really happened? Every thing is diſguiſed, either by ignorance or partiality. Without altering the ſubſtance of the fact, how eaſy it is to repreſent it in many different lights, only by varying the circumſtances. Place the ſame object in different points of view, it will hardly appear to be the ſame, and yet the only change has been in the eye of the ſpectator. Is it paying due honour to truth, to tell one of a real fact, and at the ſame to repreſent it in a falſe light? How often has the fate of a battle been decided, unknown to the hiſtorian, by the circumſtances of a tree that has intercepted the view; of a hill to the right or left, or of a cloud of duſt that blinded the eyes of the ſoldiers? Does this prevent the hiſtorian from aſſigning the cauſe of the victory or defeat, with

with as much confidence, as if he had been preſent every where at the action? Now of what uſe are bare facts to me, if I know not the ſource from which they ſprang; and what inſtructions can I derive from an event, with the real cauſe of which I am unacquainted? The hiſtorian gives me one, but it is his own invention: the art of criticiſm, of which they make ſuch a rout, is only a ſyſtem of conjecture, or a method of ſelecting from many lies, that which bears the greateſt reſemblance to truth.

Did you never read Cleopatra or Caſſandra, or any other books of that ſort? The author fixes upon a known event, accommodates it to his particular view, embelliſhes it with details of his own invention, with perſonages that never exiſted but in his own brain, and with imaginary characters; making a long texture of fictitious incidents, to amuſe and pleaſe the reader. I ſee very little difference between thoſe romances and our modern hiſtories; except that the writer of romances gives a greater ſcope to his own imagination, while the hiſtorian confines himſelf more to that of other people; to which I may add, that the former propoſes to himſelf a moral object, either good or bad, whereas the latter gives himſelf no trouble about it.

You will tell me, perhaps, that the truth of hiſtorical facts is leſs intereſting than that of manners and characters; and provided there be a faithful picture of the human heart, it is of very little importance whether the narrative be exact or not; for, after all, what concern have we with tranſactions that happened two thouſand years ago? You are in the right, if the portraits are faithfully drawn from nature; but if moſt of them are the production of the hiſtorian's brain, are we not relapſing into the inconvenience we endeavoured to avoid, by paying that deference to the authority of writers, which we refuſed

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to give to our tutor? If my pupil is to have none but ideal pictures, I had much rather they were of my own ſketching, than of any other perſon's; at leaſt, they will be better adapted to his ſituation.

The worſt hiſtorians a young man can read, are thoſe who abound in reflections. Give him plain facts, and he will judge for himſelf; this is the right way to know mankind. If he is to be inceſſantly guided by the author's judgment, he ſees then with another perſon's eye, and when this is wanting, he will be quite deprived of his ſight.

I wave entering into any reflections on modern hiſtory, not only becauſe it has no characteriſtic, and all our men exactly reſemble each other; but becauſe our hiſtorians, having no other view than to diſplay their abilities, think only of dreſſing their portraits with the moſt glaring colours; ſo that frequently they bear no reſemblance to the real object *. The ancients, generally ſpeaking, deal leſs in portraiture, and diſplay leſs wit, but more good ſenſe, in their reflections: even among them, there is a very great difference; we ſhould not pitch upon the moſt profound and judicious at firſt, but on the moſt ſimple. I would not recommend either Polybius or Salluſt to a young man. Tacitus is an author fit only for perſons advanced in years; it was not his deſign that young people ſhould underſtand him. In reading the recital of human actions, we ſhould learn to trace the outlines of the heart, before we attempt to ſound its depth: we ſhould be perfectly acquainted with facts, before we begin to read maxims. Philoſophy reduced to maxims is the reſult of experience. Young people ought to form no general ideas; their whole inſtruction ſhould conſiſt of particular rules.

* See Davila, Guicciardin, Strada, Solis, Machiavel, and ſometimes Thuanus himſelf. Vertot is almoſt the only hiſtorian, who knows how to paint, without meddling with drawing portraits.

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Thucydides is, in my opinion, the true model for hiſtorians. He relates the facts, without paſſing any judgment on them; but he omits no particular circumſtances, that may enable us to judge for ourſelves. Whatever he relates is exhibited to our view; inſtead of interpoſing his judgment upon every event, he ſtrives to conceal himſelf; you do not imagine you are reading, but viewing the tranſaction. Unfortunately he ſpeaks of nothing but war, and in moſt of his narratives you meet with the ſubject, of all others, the leaſt inſtructive, that of battles. Xenophon's retreat of the ten thouſand, and Cæſar's commentaries, have the ſame virtue, and the ſame vice. Honeſt Herodotus deals neither in characters nor maxims; he is flowing, ſimple, and full of details moſt capable of engaging the attention, and affording amuſement to the reader; ſo that he would in all likelihood bear the palm of all other hiſtorians, if thoſe very details did not ſometimes degenerate into puerilities, more proper to vitiate, than to form the taſte of a young perſon: in ſhort, it requires ſome diſcernment to read him with profit. I ſay nothing of Livy; his turn is to come; but he is a politician, an orator, and every thing unſuitable to this ſtage of life.

Hiſtory in general is a defective ſtudy, as it keeps only a regiſter of remarkable facts, which may be aſcertained by name, place, or date; but the ſlow progreſſive cauſes of thoſe facts, being not ſo eaſy to aſſign, remain always concealed. We frequently find the gain or the loſs of a battle mentioned as the cauſe of a revolution, which before that battle was become inevitable. War ſeldom does more than diſplay events already determined by moral cauſes, which few hiſtorians are able to diſcover.

The reflections of ſeveral writers of this century have been turned this way by the ſpirit of philoſophy; but I queſtion whether truth has gained by

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their labours. Being all ſeized with a madneſs for ſyſtem, they have no curioſity to view things as they really are, but as they agree with their principles.

Add to all theſe reflections, that hiſtory is rather an exhibition of actions than of men, becauſe it does not repreſent the latter, but in thoſe choſen moments, when they appear in all their pomp; it ſhews only the public perſonage, who has placed himſelf in an attitude to be viewed. It does not follow him into his houſe, into his cabinet; it does not trace him in the midſt of his family, or among his friends; it draws his picture only when he makes his public appearance; it repreſents his dreſs, rather than his perſon.

I had much rather begin the ſtudy of the human heart, by reading the lives of particular perſons; for there it is in vain for the man to endeavour to conceal himſelf. The biographer purſues him cloſe; he does not allow him a moment's reſpite; no corner nor recefs to ſecrete himſelf from the piercing eye of the ſpectator; and when he imagines himſelf moſt concealed, it is then he is moſt expoſed. *They who write private lives*, ſays Montagne, *as they amuſe themſelves more with counſels than events, and rather with domeſtic than public tranſactions, are more for my purpoſe; for which reaſon I am ſo fond of Plutarch.*

I acknowledge that the genius of a multitude or a people is very different from the character of a private man; and it would be forming a very imperfect idea of human nature, not to examine the inclinations of the multitude. But it is equally true, that we ſhould begin with the ſtudy of man to judge of mankind; and that whoever has a perfect knowledge of the inclinations of each individual, is able to foreſee all their effects combined in the body of the people.

Here muſt we likewiſe have recourſe to the antients, for the reaſons above mentioned, and more-

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over, becauſe as all low familiar details, though true and characteriſtic, are inconſiſtent with the dignity of modern hiſtorians, private lives are ſet off with as much decoration and diſguiſe as public tranſactions. The laws of decorum, which are equally ſevere in writing and in action, do not permit us to *ſay*, what we are not allowed to *do*, in public; and as men are exhibited only as actors on this great ſtage, you can acquire no more knowledge of them from our hiſtorians, than from a theatrical repreſentation. You may write, and correct, and improve the lives of our kings as long as you pleaſe, we ſhall never find another Suetonius *.

Plutarch excels in thoſe very details, into which we no longer dare to enter. He has an inimitable gracefulneſs in painting great men engaged in little things; and he is ſo happy in the choice of his incidents, that frequently a word, a ſmile, a geſture, is ſufficient to characterize his hero. With a piece of pleaſantry Hannibal animates his frightened troops, and leads them ſmiling to the battle, by which he became maſter of Italy. Ageſilaus, riding a hobby-horſe, makes me love the conqueror of a great monarch. Cæſar, paſſing through a poor village, and chatting with his friends, unthinkingly diſcovers the diſſembler, who pretended he only wanted to be Pompey's equal. Alexander ſwallows a medicinal potion, without ſaying a word; this was the moſt glorious action of his whole life. Ariſtides writes his own name on a ſhell, and thus juſtifies his ſurname. Philopœmen takes off his robe, and cleaves wood in the kitchen of his hoſt. Such is the true art of painting. The phyſiognomy is not known by the ſtrongeſt lines, nor the characters of men by

* The only French hiſtorian, who has imitated the grand ſtrokes of Tacitus, has dared alſo to follow Suetonius, and ſometimes to tranſcribe Commines, in their details, has been cenſured on this account, though it adds ſo greatly to the merit of his work.

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their great exploits; it is in trifling things they ſhew their natural temper. The public affairs are either too common, or too artfully prepared; and yet to theſe entirely is the dignity of modern hiſtory confined.

One of the greateſt men in the laſt century, was undoubtedly marſhal Turenne. The writer of his life had the courage to render it intereſting to the public, by a relation of little incidents, which diſplay his character, and engage your affection towards the hero. But how many was he obliged to ſuppreſs, which would have made him more known and beloved? I ſhall give but one inſtance, which I have from very good authority, and Plutarch would by no means have omitted, but which Ramſay, had he even known it, would not have dared to mention.

One ſummer day when it happened to be very hot, the viſcount de Turenne was in his white waiſtcoat and night-cap, looking out of the window of his anti-chamber. A domeſtic entering his room, and deceived by his appearance, miſtook him for the under cook, with whom he was very familiar. He came ſoftly behind him, and with his hand, which was none of the ſofteſt, gave him a violent ſlap on the back-ſide. The marſhal turned about in an inſtant, and the valet in great conſternation perceived his maſter. He flung himſelf upon his knees quite confounded... *Oh! my lord, I thought it was George*.... *And ſuppoſe it had been George*, cried Turenne rubbing his breech, *you ſhould not have hit ſo hard*. Such are the paſſages your modern hiſtorians dare not mention. Poor wretches! go on then, and remain for ever unnatural and obdurate; ſteel your hearts with your unfeeling decorum; and render yourſelves contemptible by your laws of dignity. But thou, my good youth, who readeſt this paſſage, and who art moſt ſenſibly affected with the lenity and good-nature it diſplays in the very firſt emotion, read alſo

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the weakneſſes of that great man, whenever his birth and rank were in queſtion. Remember this is the very Turenne, who affected, on all occaſions, to give place to his nephew, to the end that the public might know this child to be the head of a ſovereign family. Compare theſe contraſts, love nature, deſpiſe opinion, and know mankind.

There are very few people capable of conceiving the effect, which ſuch kind of reading is likely to produce in young minds. Stupid with poring from our infancy over books, and accuſtomed to read without any manner of reflection, we are ſtill leſs affected with what we read; for having within ourſelves the paſſions and prejudices with which the hiſtories of public tranſactions and of private lives are repleniſhed, whatever they do, appears natural to us, becauſe we ourſelves have diverged from nature, and we judge of others by our own ſituation. But ſuppoſe a youth educated according to my maxims; ſuppoſe, for inſtance, my Emilius, whom we have aſſiduouſly attended eighteen years, to preſerve the ſolidity of his judgment, and the integrity of his heart; imagine him, when the curtain is drawn up, caſting his eye the firſt time on the great theatre of the world, or rather placed behind the ſcenes, and ſeeing the actors dreſs and undreſs, and reckoning the cords and the pullies belonging to the machinery, by which the eyes of the ſpectators are deluded. His firſt ſurprize will ſoon be ſucceeded by emotions of ſhame and indignation againſt his ſpecies; he will be vexed to ſee mankind ſuch dupes to their own folly, and ſtooping to children's play; he will be grieved to ſee his brethren cutting one another's throats for mere fancies, and transformed into wild beaſts, becauſe they were not content with being men.

With the diſpoſitions natural to our pupil, if the tutor will but uſe a little judgment and diſcretion in his lectures; if he will put him in the way of drawing proper reflections; this exerciſe will certain-

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ly be to him a courſe of practical philoſophy, far better, and much more judicious, than all the empty ſpeculations, with which the minds of our young people are confounded in the ſchools. Let Cyneas, after following Pyrrhus through all his romantic projects, aſk that prince what real advantage he would reap from the conqueſt of the world, which he may not at preſent enjoy without ſo much trouble and anxiety? The vulgar ſee nothing in this queſtion, but a ſprightly ſaying, which is ſoon forgot: but my Emilius will diſcover it to be a very wiſe reflection, which he himſelf would naturally have made, and which will never be effaced out of his memory, becauſe it will meet with no contrary prejudice to hinder the impreſſion. When afterwards, in peruſing the life of this madman, he finds that all his great deſigns terminated in getting himſelf killed by the hand of a poor woman; inſtead of admiring his pretended heroiſm, what will he behold, in all the exploits of that great captain, and all the intrigues of ſo able a politician, but ſo many ſteps in ſearch of that unlucky tile, which was at once to put an end to his life, and to all his projects, by an inglorious death?

All conquerors have not died by the ſword; all uſurpers have not miſcarried in their enterprizes; many of them may appear fortunate in the prejudiced eye of the vulgar; but he who, regardleſs of appearances, judges of the felicity of mortals by the ſituation of their hearts, will behold them miſerable even in the midſt of their ſucceſſes; he will ſee coroding cares and anxiety increaſing together with their fortune; he will ſee them gaſping for breath as faſt as they advance, without ever attaining the term of their wiſhes. He will compare them to unexperienced travellers, who attempting the firſt time to croſs the Alps, imagine every mountain to be the laſt, but when they have reached the ſummit, they are diſcouraged to find ſtill higher mountains before them.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus Cæſar, after having enſlaved his fellow citizens, and deſtroyed all his rivals, reigned forty years over the greateſt empire that ever exiſted. But did this power hinder him from beating his head againſt the wall, and making his large palace reſound with his cries, in calling upon Varus to reſtore his exterminated legions? Even had he been ſo fortunate as to vanquiſh all his enemies, what would his empty triumphs have availed him, while his troubles were continually increaſing, while his deareſt friends were attempting his life, and while he was reduced to grieve for the infamy or the death of all his relations? The unfortunate man would govern the world, and he knew not how to conduct his own family! What was the conſequence of this neglect? He ſaw his nephew, adoptive ſon, and ſon-in-law, periſh in the bloom of life; his grandſon was reduced to eat the flocks of his bed to prolong his miſerable exiſtence a few hours; his daughter and grandaughter, after covering him with their infamy, died, one in miſery and want, on a deſart iſland, and the other in priſon, by the hand of an executioner*. And at length, he himſelf, the laſt remains of his unhappy family, was reduced, by his own wife, to leave his ſucceſſion to a monſter. Such was the fate of that maſter of the world, ſo celebrated for his felicity, and for his glory: can I imagine that any one of his admirers would chuſe to purchaſe his fortune at the ſame price?

Here I have taken ambition for an example; but the caprice of human paſſions affords the like leſſons to all who would learn to know themſelves by the ſtudy of hiſtory, and to grow wiſe at the expence of the dead. The time is drawing near, when the life of Mark Anthony will afford more immediate inſtruction to a youth, than that

* See what is ſaid in the Tranſlator's preface with regard to this account of the family of Auguſtus.

of Auguſtus. Emilius may be almoſt loſt among the variety of objects that will preſent themſelves to him during this new ſtudy; but obſerving that mankind have been in all ages blinded by their paſſions, he will watch their approach, and be abler to guard againſt their illuſion. Theſe leſſons, I know, are not well adapted to him; and perhaps they would prove too late and inſufficient: but remember theſe are not the inſtructions I intended to draw from the ſtudy of hiſtory. When firſt I undertook it, my view was quite different; and if this be not attained, it is certainly the maſter's fault.

Remember, that as ſoon as ſelf-love diſplays itſelf, perſonal intereſt begins to operate; and our young man reflects, and compares himſelf with every one he ſees. The point therefore is to know what rank he will aſſume among his fellow-creatures, after he has carefully examined them. I perceive, by the manner in which young people are taught to read hiſtory, that they are metamorphoſed, as it were, into all the different characters, as they ariſe; thus they are uſed to make themſelves now a Cicero, now a Trajan, and preſently an Alexander; but they are mortified when they reflect, and perceive their real character. This method, I confeſs, has ſome advantages; but as for my Emilius, ſhould he ever in thoſe parallels but once chuſe to be any other than himſelf, were it even Socrates or Cato, we have loſt our aim: he who begins to be eſtranged from his own character, will ſoon forget himſelf entirely.

It is not the philoſophers that have the beſt knowledge of mankind; they ſee them only through the prejudices of philoſophy, and I know no ſtate that abounds with ſo many. A ſavage forms a much better judgment of mankind than one of our modern ſages. The latter is ſenſible of his own vices, is angry at ours, and ſays to himſelf; you are wicked: the other ſtares at us without the leaſt emotion, and ſays; you are

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all fools. He is in the right, for no body does harm for harm ſake. Such a ſavage is my pupil; with this difference, that Emilius, who has uſed more reflection, having compared a greater number of ideas, and made a nicer obſervation on our errors, places a ſtronger guard upon himſelf, and judges only from what he knows.

It is our own paſſions that raiſe our indignation againſt thoſe of others: it is ſelf-intereſt that makes us deteſt the wicked; if they did us no harm, they would rather be the object of our pity, than of our hatred. The evil the wicked do to us, makes us forget that which they commit againſt themſelves. We ſhould eaſily forgive them their vices, could we know how ſeverely they are chaſtiſed by their own conſcience. We feel the offence, but do not ſee the puniſhment; their advantages are apparent, their ſufferings inviſible. He who fancies he enjoys the fruits of vice, is not leſs tortured than if he had not ſucceeded; the object is changed, the inquietude is the ſame; in vain does he diſplay his good fortune, and conceal his heart: his conduct ſhews it againſt his will, but to thoſe only whoſe hearts are not ſo corrupt as his own.

The paſſions of which we partake, ſeduce our minds; and thoſe which oppoſe our intereſts, offend us: hence we are ſo inconſiſtent, as to blame in others, what we ourſelves would imitate. The averſion and illuſion are inevitable, when we are obliged to ſuffer from another that evil, which we ourſelves ſhould commit in his place.

What is therefore neceſſary to render us accurate obſervers of mankind? A ſtrong curioſity of knowing them, impartiality in our judgment, and ſuch a ſenſibility of heart, as to conceive all the human paſſions, yet ſo calm as to feel no inquietude. If there be a time of life favourable to this ſtudy, it is that which I have choſen for my Emilius: earlier, he

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would not have attained a knowledge of mankind; later, he would have imitated their follies. Though he ſees the prevalency of opinion, he is not yet ſubject to its influence. He feels the effect of the paſſions, but they have not as yet diſturbed his quiet. As a man, he intereſts himſelf in the affairs of his brethren; but he is juſt in judging his peers. Now it is certain, that if he judges rightly, he will not chuſe to be in any of their places; for the end of all the diſquietudes they create to themſelves, being founded on prejudices of which he is devoid, muſt appear to him quite chimerical. For his part, whatever he deſires, is within his reach. On whom ſhould he depend, he who is able to work for himſelf, and free from every prejudice? He has ſtrength, health *, moderation, few wants, and abilities to ſatisfy them. Educated with the higheſt ideas of liberty, he conſiders ſervitude as the greateſt of evils. He pities thoſe miſerable kings, who are ſlaves to thoſe by whom they are obeyed; he pities thoſe pretended ſages, who are ſlaves to a vain reputation; he laments thoſe opulent fools, who are martyrs to their pride; he grieves for thoſe pompous voluptuaries, who lead a moſt irkſome life, only that they may ſeem to indulge their pleaſure. He would be ſorry for his greateſt enemy, that was to do him any miſchief; for his wickedneſs would diſplay his miſery; this man, he would ſay, by undertaking to hurt me, makes his fate dependent on mine.

One ſtep farther, and we reach the goal. Self-love is an uſeful, but dangerous inſtrument: it frequently hurts the hand that uſes it, and ſeldom does any good without evil. Emilius conſidering his

* I think I may confidently reckon health and a good conſtitution among the advantages acquired by his education; or rather among the natural gifts which his education hath preſerved.

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rank among the human ſpecies, and finding himſelf ſo advantageouſly ſituated, will be tempted to compliment his own reaſon for what has been the work of yours, and to attribute his happineſs to his merit. He will ſay to himſelf, I am wiſe, and mankind are fools. While they are objects of his pity, he deſpiſes them; while he congratulates himſelf, he riſes in his own eſteem; and obſerving that he is more happy than the reſt of the world, he thinks it is owing to his own merit. This is the miſtake moſt to be dreaded, becauſe it is the moſt difficult to eradicate. Were he to remain in this ſituation, he would have improved but little with all your care; and were I to have my choice, I do not know, whether I would not rather let him be a ſlave to prejudice than to pride?

Great men are never vain of their ſuperiority; they ſee, they feel it, and yet this does not at all diminiſh their modeſty. The more they have, the more they know they want. They are leſs proud of their elevation above us, than humbled by the ſenſe of their own miſery; and even when they have ſuch accompliſhments, as are peculiar to themſelves, they have too much judgment to be vain of a mere gift of nature. The good man may be proud of his virtue, becauſe it is his own acquiring; but why ſhould the wit or the great genius be vain? What had Racine done, not to be a Pradon? or Boileau not to be a Cotin.

Here the caſe is again different: let us ſtill preſerve the common order of things. I neither ſuppoſed my pupil to be a ſuperior genius, nor a blockhead. I choſe him from among the ordinary claſs of capacities, in order to ſhew the effect of education in human minds. All extraordinary caſes are out of rule. Whenever therefore, in conſequence of my care, Emilius prefers his own manner of being, ſeeing, and feeling, to that of other men, he is in the

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the right. But when he imagines himself on that account to be of a different ſtamp, or of a more excellent frame than others, he is certainly wrong. He is miſtaken, and muſt be undeceived, or rather the miſtake ought to be prevented, leſt it ſhould afterwards be too late to deſtroy it.

There is no folly whatever of which a man, who is not an idiot, may not be cured, except vanity: as for this, if it be at all curable, nothing but experience will do; upon its firſt riſe, at leaſt, you may hinder its growth. Do not therefore loſe your time in fine reaſonings, to demonſtrate to your pupil that he is fleſh and blood like other men, and ſubject to the ſame infirmities. Make him feel it, or he never will know any thing of the matter. And here is another exception to my own rules; it is to expoſe my pupil to every accident capable of convincing him, that he is not wiſer than the reſt of mankind. The adventure of the juggler ſhould be repeated to him a thouſand ways; I would permit flatterers to take every advantage of him; if wild young fellows dragged him into any extravagance, I would let him run the danger; if ſharpers attacked him at play, I would deliver him into their hands, to be their dupe*; I would let them flatter and fleece

* Our pupil, however, is not very likely to fall into this ſnare, becauſe he has ſo many inſtruments to divert him, is never tired of his time, and hardly knows the uſe of money. The two ſprings by which children are generally moved being intereſt and vanity, theſe very ſprings are afterwards made uſe of by lewd women and ſharpers to get them into their clutches. When you ſee their avidity excited by prizes and rewards, when you ſee them applauded at ten years of age for ſome public performance in the college, you exactly ſee how they may be ſtripped of their purſe in a gaming-houſe at twenty, and of their health in a place of ill repute. It is always odds but the beſt ſcholar in the claſs turns out the greateſt gameſter, and the wildeſt rake. Now the means we were afraid of uſing in the time of infancy, are

fleece him; and after they had ſtripped him quite naked, and concluded with making him the ſubject of their mirth, I would thank them in his preſence, for the inſtruction they were ſo kind as to give my pupil. The only ſnares I would prevent his falling into, would be thoſe of lewd women. The only regard I ſhould ſhew him, would be to partake of all the dangers I ſuffered him to run, and of all the affronts I permitted him to receive. I ſhould endure every thing in ſilence, without complaint or reproach, and without ever ſaying a ſingle word to him; and you may be ſure, that if this diſcretion be properly ſuſtained, all that he has ſeen me undergo on his account, will make a far greater impreſſion on his mind, than what he has ſuffered himſelf.

Here I cannot help taking notice of the falſe dignity of ſome preceptors, who, from a ridiculous notion of acting the part of ſages, affect to debaſe their pupil, to treat him always as a child, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves from him in every action. But inſtead of depreſſing his juvenile ſpirit, I would adviſe you to ſpare no pains to raiſe his courage; make him your equal, to the end that he may become ſuch; and if he is incapable as yet of riſing to your height, deſcend without ſhame or ſcruple to his level. Think that your honour is no longer in yourſelf, but in your pupil; ſhare his miſtakes, in order to ſet him right; load yourſelf with his ſhame, with a view to wipe it out: imitate that brave Roman, who finding himſelf unable to rally his army, put himſelf at their head, and cried aloud, *They are not running away, they are following their*

are not ſubject to the ſame abuſe in that of youth. But it ſhould be remembered, that it is my conſtant maxim to ſtate things at the very worſt. At firſt I endeavour to prevent vice, and afterwards I ſuppoſe it, in order to point out the remedy.

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commander. Was this a diſhonour to him? quite the contrary; by ſacrificing his glory, he only increaſed its luſtre. The force of duty, and the beauty of virtue, command our approbation, and overturn all our ridiculous prejudices. Were I to receive a box on the ear in diſcharging my duty towards Emilius, inſtead of taking my revenge for the affront, I would boaſt of it wherever I came; and I queſtion whether there be a man upon earth ſo baſe, as not to reſpect me the more on that very account.

Not that my pupil ought to ſuppoſe his maſter to have only the ſame limited knowledge as himſelf, and to be as eaſily ſeduced. This opinion may do very well for a child, who being incapable of comparing ideas, puts all mankind upon his own level, and gives his confidence only to thoſe who know how to treat him upon that footing. But one of Emilius's years and good ſenſe, is not ſo eaſily impoſed upon, neither is it fit he ſhould. The confidence he ought to have in his governor is of another kind; it is founded in the authority of reaſon, in the ſuperiority of knowledge, and in the advantages a young man is capable of obtaining, and of whoſe utility he is ſufficiently convinced. By long experience he has found that he is beloved by his preceptor; that his preceptor is a prudent ſenſible man, who ſtudies to promote his happineſs, and therefore it is his own intereſt to liſten to his advice. Now were the maſter as liable to be impoſed upon as the diſciple, he would loſe his authority, and forfeit the right of adviſing. Much leſs ought the pupil to preſume that his tutor would deſignedly ſuffer him to be impoſed upon, and lay ſnares for his ſimplicity. What is therefore to be done towards avoiding both theſe inconveniencies? The beſt and moſt natural expedient for the maſter, is to be plain and ſincere like his pupil, to warn him of the dangers

to which he is exposed; to point them out to him, in a clear sensible manner, without exaggeration, peevishness, or pedantic parade; and especially without giving your counsels as commands, till they are really such, and the tone of authority is become absolutely necessary. Should he be obstinate after that, as he often will be, then say nothing at all to him, leave him to himself, follow him closely, imitate his example with great gaiety and freedom, behave with good humour, and divert yourself, if possible, as much as he. Should the consequences prove dangerous, you have it always in your power to check their progress; and yet the youth, upon observing your penetration and compliance, must be greatly surprized at the one, and affected with the other. All his faults are so many curbs, with which you may stop his course, whenever it becomes necessary. Now what constitutes the grand ability of the master on this occasion, is to promote the opportunities, and apply the exhortations, in such a manner, as previously to know when the young man will comply, and when he will be obstinate, in order to surround him on every side with experimental lessons, without exposing him to too much danger.

Shew him the bad consequence of his faults, before he commits them; but never reproach him for what he has done, this would only inflame his self-love, and make him mutiny. A lesson that offends, is never profitable. I know nothing more ridiculous than that phrase, *I told you so*. The best way to make him remember what you said to him, is to seem to forget it. When you perceive he is ashamed of not having believed you, speak to him in such gentle terms, as will release him from his confusion. He will certainly take an affection to you, upon finding that you forget yourself to think of him, and that instead of crushing him to pieces, you raise him from the dust. But if to his chagrin you add

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reproaches, he will take an averſion to you, and make it a rule to liſten to you no more, were it only to prove, that he thinks differently from you with reſpect to the importance of your advice.

You may even give ſuch a turn to your conſolations, as to afford inſtruction, which will be the more effectual, as he cannot miſtruſt it. By telling him, for inſtance, that many others commit the ſame fault, he is agreeably diſappointed; you correct, whilſt you ſeem only to pity him: for to him, who thinks himſelf better than other people, it is a mortifying circumſtance to conſole him by their example; it is hinting, that the moſt he can pretend to, is that they are not better than himſelf.

The age of faults is the proper time for fables. By cenſuring the delinquent under a borrowed maſk, you inſtruct him without giving offence; and then he apprehends, that the apologue is not a lie, by perceiving the truth of its application. A child, who has never been deceived by flattery, underſtands nothing of the fable, which I have examined in the beginning of this volume; but the giddy youth, who has been the dupe of ſome ſycophant, will certainly conceive that the raven was a very great fool. Thus from a fact he infers a maxim; and the experience, which he would otherwiſe have ſoon forgotten, is better engraved in his mind by means of the fable. There is no moral knowledge but may be acquired, either by your own experience, or by that of others. In caſes where this experience is dangerous, inſtead of making it yourſelf, you draw it from hiſtory. When the trial is of no conſequence, it is proper a young man ſhould be expoſed to it; and then, by means of the apologue, the particular caſes, of which he has a knowledge, may be reduced into maxims.

I do not mean, however, that theſe maxims ought to be explained, or even expreſſed. Nothing is ſo idle as the moral with which moſt fables are concluded; as if this were not, or ought not to be couched

couched in the fable itſelf, ſo as to be intelligible to the reader. Why then do you tag it to the end of the fable, and deprive him of the pleaſure of finding it of his own head. The great art of inſtruction is, to render it agreeable to your pupil; but for this end it is not neceſſary his mind ſhould be ſo inactive, as to have no ſort of trouble to comprehend your meaning. The vanity of the maſter ſhould always leave an opening for that of the pupil, to enable him to ſay, I conceive, I penetrate, I act, I inſtruct myſelf. One thing, which renders the Pantaloon in the Italian comedy ſo extremely tireſome, is the pains he takes, upon all occaſions, to explain his low wit, which is already but too intelligible. I would not have a governor be a Pantaloon, and much leſs an author. You ſhould always be underſtood, but there is no occaſion to tell every thing: he who ſays all, in the main ſays but very little; for at length he is diſregarded. Of what ſignification are thoſe verſes, which La Fontaine adds to the fable of the frog and the ox? Was he afraid he ſhould not be underſtood? Has ſo great a painter any need to write the names under his figures? Inſtead of rendering his moral thereby general, he makes it particular, and reſtrains it in ſome meaſure to the examples quoted, ſo as to prevent it from being applied to any other. Before you put the fables of this inimitable author into the hands of a young man, you ſhould retrench all thoſe inferences, in which he takes ſuch pains to explain ſo clear and agreeable a narrative. If your pupil does not underſtand the fable without the aid of the explication, you may depend upon it, he will never underſtand it.

It would be very proper to throw thoſe fables into a more didactic order, agreeable to the intellectual progreſs of youth. Can any thing be ſo unreaſonable, as to follow the numerical order of the book, without regard to circumſtance or occaſion? Firſt comes

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comes the raven, then the grasshopper, next the two mules, &c. And now I have mentioned the two mules, I remember to have seen a child, who was educated for an employment in the finances, which was perpetually sounded in his ears, read this fable, commit it to memory, and repeat it a hundred times, without ever conceiving the least objection against the profession, for which he was designed. I never saw an instance of a boy, that made a proper application of the fables he learnt; nor did I ever observe that any body troubled their heads about the matter. The pretence of this study is moral instruction; but the real object of the mother and the child is, to employ the attention of a whole company, while he recites his fables; and therefore when he grows up, and has no longer occasion to repeat, but to profit by them, he forgets them all. I must mention once more, that fables are designed for the instruction of men only, and therefore it is high time for Emilius to begin.

I have pointed out at a distance (for neither do I chuse to say all) the different paths which diverge from the right road, to the end that you may learn to avoid them. I am apt, however, to think, that your pupil, by following the road I have traced out, will purchase the knowledge of mankind and of himself at the cheapest rate possible, and you will enable him to view the sport of fortune, without envying the caresses of her favourites, and to be satisfied without thinking himself wiser than other men. As you have therefore begun with making him an actor, in order to qualify him for a spectator, you must finish your work; for from the pit you see the objects as they appear; but from the scenes as they really exist. To embrace the whole, you must place yourself in the proper point of view; you must draw nearer the object, to examine the particular parts. But what title or pretence has a young man to involve himself in the affairs of the world? What right has he to be initiated in-

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to theſe dark myſteries? The intereſts of his age are confined to pleaſurable intrigues; as yet he can diſpoſe only of his own perſon, which is juſt as if he diſpoſed of nothing at all. Man is the meaneſt of commodities; and among the important rights of property, that of our perſons is always the leaſt.

When I obſerve, that in the time of life fitteſt for action, young people are confined to ſpeculative ſtudies, and that they afterwards, without any kind of experience, ſuddenly launch out into the world, I find this practice to be no leſs repugnant to reaſon, than to nature; and am no longer ſurprized, that ſo few people know how to conduct themſelves through life. How abſurd, and how extravagant is it to teach us ſo many uſeleſs things, while the great art of acting is reckoned as nothing? They pretend to form us for ſociety, while we are inſtructed as if each of us were to ſpend his whole life in a lonely cell, or to treat with ſtrangers about mere chimerical ſpeculations. You imagine you teach your children the art of living, by making them learn a few contorſions of the body, and a certain form of words, which are of no ſignification. And I too have taught my Emilius to live; for I have ſhewn him how to live by himſelf, and likewiſe how to earn his bread: but that is not enough. To live in the world we muſt know how to deal with mankind; we muſt know the means by which they are influenced; we muſt calculate the action and re-action of private intereſt in civil ſociety, and have ſo true an inſight into events, as ſeldom to miſcarry in our undertakings, or at leaſt always to hit upon the moſt probable means of ſucceſs. The laws do not permit young people to manage their own affairs, or to diſpoſe of their property; but of what advantage are thoſe precautions, if, till the time preſcribed for their being of age, they can acquire no manner of experience? They will gain nothing at all by waiting, but

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will be as raw and unexperienced at five and twenty as at fifteen. No doubt but it is very right to hinder a youth, blinded by his ignorance, or deluded by his paſſions, from acting to his own prejudice; but at all ages we are allowed to be beneficent; and, under the guidance of a man of ſenſe, we may aſſiſt the unhappy who want our aid and protection.

A child is attached to his mother and to his nurſe, by their particular care and attendance. The exerciſe of the ſocial virtues inſpires the heart with the love of humanity; by doing good, we become good ourſelves: this is the ſureſt method. Employ your pupil in all the good actions within his power; let the intereſt of the poor and indigent be always dear to him; let him aſſiſt them, not only with his purſe, but with his care; let him aid and protect them; let him conſecrate his perſon and his time to their ſervice; let him be their agent, and it will be the nobleſt office he ever diſcharged. How many poor creatures, groaning under oppreſſion, and whoſe cauſe would never have been heard, will obtain juſtice, when demanded by him with that intrepidity ariſing from the practice of virtue; when he forces open the gates of the grandees and the rich; when, if neceſſary, he penetrates to the foot of the throne, and repreſents the grievances of the unfortunate, whoſe miſeries have precluded them from all acceſs to the prince, and who were afraid of complaining, leſt they ſhould be puniſhed for the guilt of their oppreſſors.

But ſhall we change our Emilius into a knight-errant, a redreſſer of wrongs, or a Don Quixote? Is he to intermeddle in public affairs, to act the ſage, and the defender of laws among the great, and even in the preſence of the ſovereign? Is he to act as a ſollicitor to the judges, and an advocate in the courts of juſtice? I know nothing of all this. Ridiculous appellations make no alteration

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in the nature of things. He will do whatever he knows to be useful and good, and no more; and he is sensible, that nothing is useful and good in regard to him, that is not suitable to his age. He knows that his chief duty is towards himself; that all young people ought to be distrustful of their own conduct; to act with circumspection; to shew a regard to aged persons; to be discreet and reserved in their speech; modest in things indifferent, but resolute in doing good, and intrepid in telling the truth. Such were those illustrious Romans, who, before they were admitted to public employments, spent their whole youth in prosecuting the guilty, and defending the cause of the innocent, without any other interest than that of gaining instruction, promoting justice, and supporting morality.

Emilius is neither fond of noise nor of quarrels, either among men*, or among brutes. He never set

* But if any one should pick a quarrel with him, how is he in that case to behave? I answer, he will never engage in a quarrel, because he never will lay himself so open as to be insulted. But who can be safe, you will urge, from a box on the ear, or from having the lie given him by some brutish fellow, some drunkard, or hectoring rascal, who, to have the pleasure of killing his man, begins with abusing him? That is quite a different thing; neither the honour nor the life of a citizen should be at the mercy of a brutish fellow, of a drunkard, or hectoring rascal; and we are no more able to guard against the like accident, than against the falling of a tile from the top of a house. The receiving and putting up with a box on the ear, or the affront of being given the lie, are productive of such effects in civil life, as no human wisdom is able to prevent; and no courts of justice can avenge the person injured. Hence the insufficiency of the laws in this case restores him to his independance; and then he is sole magistrate, sole judge, between the offender and himself: he is the only interpreter and minister of the law of nature; he ought to do justice to himself, and is the only one capable of doing it; and there is no government upon earth so unreasonable, as to punish him for having done it in that case. I do not say, that he ought to fight a duel, that is a piece of madness; what I affirm is, that he ought to do himself justice, and he is the only dispenser of it. Without so many edicts against duelling, were I a sovereign prince, I would

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never ſet two dogs a fighting; he never excited a dog to worry a cat. This pacific ſpirit is the effect of his education, which having given no encouragement to his pride or vanity, diverted him from taking pleaſure in dominion, and in the havock and miſery of his ſpecies. He is in pain, when he ſees others ſuffer; and this is a natural ſenſation. What hardens the hearts of youth, and makes them delight in beholding the torture of a ſenſible being, is their fooliſh vanity, by which they look upon themſelves as exempt from thoſe pains by their wiſdom or ſuperiority. He who has been preſerved from this way of thinking, will not eaſily fall into that vice, which is its natural conſequence. Emilius is therefore a lover of peace. He is pleaſed with the idea of happineſs; and whenever he is capable of producing it, this is an additional motive for him to ſhare it with his fellow-creatures. I never ſuppoſed, that, upon ſeeing the unfortunate, he ſhould entertain only that cruel, fruitleſs compaſſion, which contents itſelf with bewailing the miſeries it is able to remove. His active benevolence fills him with ſuch knowledge, as with an obdurate heart he would not have acquired, or at leaſt not ſo ſoon. If he beholds his companions at variance, he endeavours to reconcile them; if he ſees them afflicted, he informs himſelf of the ſubject of their complaints; if he knows, that two men hate each other, he enquires into the cauſe of their enmity; if he ſees a perſon groan under the oppreſſion of the powerful and the rich, he diſcovers the pretences under which thoſe oppreſſions are carried

I would undertake there ſhould be no ſuch thing as giving a box on the ear, or a lie, in my dominions; and that by a very ſimple method, in which the courts of juſtice ſhould not intermeddle. Be that as it may, Emilius knows in the like caſe the juſtice he owes to himſelf, and the example he ought to ſet to men of honour. It is not in the power of the braveſt man living to avoid being inſulted; but it depends upon him to prevent the offender from long boaſting of the inſult.

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on; and eſpouſing the cauſe of the miſerable and unfortunate, he ſpares no pains to terminate their evils. How are we therefore to avail ourſelves of theſe favourable diſpoſitions, in a manner ſuitable to his age? We muſt regulate his attention and knowledge, and endeavour to augment them by means of his zeal.

I am not tired of repeating; let the leſſons you deſign for your pupils, conſiſt in action, rather than in words. Let them never learn any thing from books, which they are capable of acquiring by experience. What an extravagant ſcheme is it to exerciſe them in haranguing, without a motive; to think you can make them feel the energy of the language of the paſſions, and the whole force of the art of perſuaſion, without having any intereſt in perſuading? All the precepts of the art of rhetoric are but a mere jumble of words to one who does not find they redound to his advantage. Of what uſe is it to a ſchool-boy, to know how Hannibal perſuaded his ſoldiers to paſs the Alps? If, inſtead of thoſe pompous harangues, you were to tell him how he is to perſuade his maſter to give him a holiday, you may be ſure he would be more attentive to your rules.

Were I to teach rhetoric to a youth, whoſe paſſions were all arrived to their maturity, I ſhould continually exhibit ſuch objects to his view, as are likely to flatter them; and I ſhould examine along with him what language is beſt adapted to render other men propitious to his deſires. But my Emilius is not in a ſituation ſo favourable to the oratorical art. Confined almoſt to mere natural wants, he has leſs need of others than they of him; and having nothing to aſk for himſelf, the cauſe he was to plead would not intereſt him enough to excite his ſenſibility. From thence it follows, that his language would be plain, with very few figures. He gene-

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rally ſpeaks to the point, and only with an intent to be underſtood. He is not ſententious, becauſe he has not learnt to render his ideas general; and he deals but little in figurative diſcourſe, becauſe his paſſions are ſeldom inflamed.

Not that he is entirely phlegmatic and cold; this neither his age, nor his manners, nor his inclinations will permit. In the fire of youth, the animal ſpirits being confined within his blood, convey to his heart a warmth that ſparkles in his looks, is felt in his diſcourſe, and perceived in his actions. He has acquired an emphaſis, and ſometimes a vehemence, in ſpeaking. The noble ſentiments with which he is inſpired, give him ſtrength and ſublimity; penetrated with the love of humanity, he transfuſes the emotions of his ſoul into his ſpeech; his generous frankneſs has ſomething more enchanting than the artful eloquence of others; or rather he alone is truly eloquent, ſince he needs only diſplay his own feelings, to affect his hearers.

The more I reflect on this ſubject, the more I am convinced, that by thus exerting the principle of benevolence, and taking an opportunity to draw, either from our good or ill ſucceſs, reflections on their cauſes, there are few uſeful branches of knowledge, which we may not cultivate in the mind of a youth; and that to the real knowledge he is capable of gaining at college, may be added one more, of much greater importance, namely, the application of that knowledge to the uſes of life. It is impoſſible, conſidering how much he is intereſted in the happineſs of his fellow-creatures, but he will learn betimes to weigh and to eſtimate their actions, taſtes, and pleaſures, and in general to ſettle a truer value on what is capable of promoting or prejudicing the felicity of mankind, than thoſe, who having no intereſt but their own, never perform any acts of benevolence. They who give themſelves no concern but about their own affairs,

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fairs, are too much prejudiced to judge rationally. Applying every thing to their own uſes, and regulating the ideas of good and evil by private advantage they fill their heads with a thouſand ridiculous prejudices, and whatever claſhes in the leaſt with their intereſt, they conſider as a ſcheme to overturn the ſyſtem of the univerſe.

If we extend this ſelf-love to other beings, we ſhall transform it into a virtue; and there is no human heart in which it has not been planted. The leſs the object of our care is immediately connected with ourſelves, the leſs we have to dread the illuſion of private intereſt; the more general we render this intereſt, the more equitable it becomes; and then the love of mankind is nothing more than the love of juſtice. Therefore if we are deſirous, that Emilius ſhould know and love the truth, let us in all matters of buſineſs eſtrange him from himſelf. The more his care and aſſiduity are devoted to the happineſs of others, the more knowledge and prudence will he acquire, and the leſs he will be miſtaken in his judgment of good and evil: but never let us permit him to indulge a capricious partiality, founded entirely on exceptions of perſons, and unjuſt prejudices. And why ſhould he injure one to ſerve another? Little does it ſignify to him, to whoſe ſhare the greateſt happineſs falls, provided it contributes to the felicity of the whole. This is the chief buſineſs of the ſage, next to his own private intereſt; for each is part of his ſpecies, and not of another individual.

To hinder our pity therefore from degenerating into weakneſs, we muſt render it more general, and extend it to all mankind. Then we indulge it, only as it agrees with juſtice, becauſe this of all virtues contributes the moſt to the public good. Both reaſon and intereſt oblige us to have more compaſſion for the whole ſpecies, than for our neighbour;

and to indulge our pity for the wicked, is ſhewing the greateſt cruelty towards the reſt of mankind.

The reader, however, ſhould remember, that all theſe means, by which I eſtrange my pupil in ſome meaſure from himſelf, have nevertheleſs a direct relation to him; becauſe he not only derives an internal ſatisfaction from thence, but by extending his benevolence to others, he is contributing towards his own improvement.

Having laid down the means, I now intend to demonſtrate the effect. How noble the deſigns I ſee gradually forming in the mind of my Emilius! How ſublime the ſentiments which ſtifle the growth of every groveling paſſion in his youthful heart! How clear his judgment! How exactly does he learn to reaſon from his regulated deſires, and from that experience which concentrates the wiſhes of a great ſoul within the narrow limits of poſſibility, and induces men of ſuperior abilities (unable to raiſe others to their own level) to lower themſelves to the common ſtandard! The right principles of juſtice, the true line of beauty, all the moral relations of beings, and all the ideas of order, are engraved in his underſtanding: he ſees the proper place of every thing, and the cauſe of its not being there; he ſees what is capable of producing good, and what will obſtruct its production. Without having experienced the human paſſions, he knows the variety of their motions, and all their artful illuſions.

Attracted by the natural force of things, I advance, but without any intention of impoſing on the judgment of my readers. They have beheld me for ſome time in the region of chimeras; and I them in that of prejudices. In deviating ſo far from vulgar opinions, ſtill I have them ever preſent to my mind. I imitate and examine them, not in order to follow or to avoid them, but to weigh them in the balance of right reaſon. Whenever I think myſelf

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myſelf obliged to ſteer clear of thoſe opinions, from the experience I have of the world, I take it for granted, that my example will not be followed. I know very well, that the vulgar, entirely directed by their own obſervations, will conſider my pupil as an imaginary and fantaſtic being, becauſe he differs from all thoſe with whom they compare him; without reflecting, that this difference is a neceſſary conſequence of his preſent education. Trained up in contrary principles and ſentiments, it would be much more ſurprizing that he ſhould bear any reſemblance to them, than be endowed with thoſe accompliſhments of which I ſuppoſe him poſſeſſed. Mine is not an artificial, but a natural man. He ought certainly to appear very extraordinary to a vulgar eye.

When firſt I began this work, I ſuppoſed nothing but what all the world might obſerve as well as myſelf, becauſe it is a point from which we all ſet out, namely, the birth of man: but the more we advance, I to improve, and you to adulterate nature, the wider we diverge from each other. At ſix years old my pupil differed but very little from yours, becauſe you had not as yet time enough to diſfigure him; but at preſent they are not at all alike; and the age of manhood, towards which he is approaching, muſt diſplay him in quite a different form, if all my care has not been loſt. The quantity of acquirements is perhaps equal on both ſides; but the things acquired bear no reſemblance. You are ſurprized to find the one adorned with ſuch ſublimity of ſentiments, of which the others have not the leaſt idea; but you are to conſider that the latter are already all philoſophers and divines, before Emilius knows what philoſophy is, or has even heard any mention of a Deity.

If you were therefore to come and tell me, that all that I had been ſuppoſing had no real exiſtence; that young people are not formed after this manner;

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ner; that they are actuated by ſuch or ſuch paſſions; that they do ſo or ſo; this is juſt as if you were to deny that a pear-tree is a large ſtandard tree, becauſe we ſee nothing but dwarfs in our gardens.

I beg of thoſe judges, who are ſo ready to cenſure, to conſider, that I know what they have to ſay on this ſubject perhaps as well as they; that in all probability I have thought on it much longer; and having no manner of intereſt to impoſe upon them, I have a right to expect, that they will at leaſt give themſelves the time to enquire in what I may be miſtaken. Let them carefully examine the conſtitution of the human mind; and trace the firſt expandings of the heart under ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, in order to ſee how far one individual may differ from another by the force of education: let them afterwards compare my method with the effects I aſſign to it, and if they prove, that I have reaſoned falſely, I have nothing further to anſwer.

What renders me more poſitive, and I think more excuſable for being ſo, is, that inſtead of indulging myſelf in an hypotheſis, I allow as little as poſſible to ſyſtematic reaſonings, but depend entirely on obſervation. I do not lay a ſtreſs upon my own imagination, but upon my own experience. True it is, that I have not confined my experiments within the incloſures of a town, nor to any one order of men. But after I had compared as many ranks and degrees of people as I could find, during a life ſpent in obſerving them, I have omitted as artificial, whatever was peculiar to one country, or to one ſtate and condition; but thoſe things which are common to all nations, ages, and circumſtances, I have conſidered as properly belonging to man.

Now, if in purſuance of my method, you trace a youth from his infancy, who has received no particular forms, and depends as little as poſſible on the

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the authority and opinion of others, which do you think he would reſemble moſt, my pupil or your's? This, I apprehend is the queſtion to be reſolved, before you can tell whether I am miſtaken in my method.

Man does not eaſily begin to think; but when once he begins, his cogitation never ceaſes. Whoever has once reflected, will continue his reflections; and the underſtanding being accuſtomed to this kind of exerciſe, will never be inactive. One might therefore believe, that in this reſpect I have either done too much or too little; that the human mind is not naturally ſo ready to unfold itſelf, and that after I had ſuppoſed it to be poſſeſſed of advantages, which it really has not, I have kept it too long confined within a narrow circle of ideas.

But conſider in the firſt place, that as I was willing to form a natural man, it was not my buſineſs to make him a ſavage, or to baniſh him into the lonely foreſts. Sufficient it is for me, that incloſed within the ſocial vortex, he does not ſuffer himſelf to be hurried away by the paſſions, or prejudiced by human opinions; but that he ſee with his own eyes, feel with his own heart, and be governed by no other authority than that of his own reaſon. In this ſituation it is evident that the multitude of objects which ſtrike his ſenſes, the variety of ſentiments with which he is affected, and the different means of providing againſt his real wants, muſt furniſh him with many ideas, which otherwiſe he would not have had, or at leaſt not ſo early in life. The natural progreſs of the mind is accelerated, but not perverted. The ſame man who would have been a quite ſtupid creature, had he continued in the foreſt, muſt improve his underſtanding, by living in ſociety, even though he were a bare ſpectator. Nothing contributes more to wiſdom, than the ſight of

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follies in which we have no ſhare; and even he who partakes of them, gains ſome inſtruction, provided he is not made a dupe to them, and does not imbibe the errors of thoſe by whom they are committed.

Conſider likewiſe, that confined as we are by our faculties to ſenſible objects, we are hardly ſuſceptible of abſtract notions of philoſophy, and mere intellectual ideas. To acquire theſe, we muſt either diſengage ourſelves from the body, to which we are ſo ſtrongly attached; or make a ſlow gradual progreſs from object to object; or, in ſhort, we muſt at once take a gigantic ſtride over the intermediate ſpace, a ſtride of which an infant is incapable, and which even requires a ladder of many ſteps made for that purpoſe. The firſt abſtract idea we conceive, is the firſt of theſe ſteps; but I can hardly ſee, in what manner it was conſtructed.

The incomprehenſible Being, who comprehends every thing, who gives motion to the univerſe, and forms the whole ſyſtem of beings, is neither viſible to the ſight, nor palpable to the touch: he eſcapes the obſervation of our ſenſes. The work is diſplayed, but the artiſt is concealed. It is not a ſmall affair to know at length that he exiſts; and when we have made this diſcovery, and begin to aſk who he is, and where he reſides, our underſtanding is bewildered, and we know not what to think.

Mr. Locke would have us begin with the inveſtigation of ſpirits, and then proceed to that of bodies; but this is the high road to ſuperſtition, prejudice, and error. It is not the method agreeable to reaſon, nor even to nature juſtly regulated; it is ſhutting our eyes, in order to learn to ſee. It is neceſſary to ſtudy the nature of bodies a long time, before you can form an idea of ſpirits, or even ſuſpect

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ſuſpect their exiſtence. The contrary method only tends to eſtabliſh materialiſm.

Since our ſenſes are the firſt inſtruments of our knowledge, corporeal and ſenſible beings are the only ones of which we have an immediate idea. The word *ſpirit*, or *mind*, has no ſort of meaning to a perſon who is not a philoſopher. A ſpirit is a body in regard to children and to the vulgar. Do not they imagine that ſpirits cry out, talk, fight, and make a noiſe? Now you muſt acknowledge, that ſpirits, who have arms and tongues, bear a great reſemblance to human bodies. Hence it is, that moſt nations, not even excepting the Jews, have repreſented their deities as corporeal beings. Even we Chriſtians, with our terms of ſpirit, trinity, perſon, are generally downright anthropomorphites. I acknowledge we are taught to ſay, that God is every where; but we likewiſe believe that the air is every where, at leaſt diffuſed throughout our atmoſphere; and the word ſpirit itſelf, originally ſignifies nothing more than *breath* or *wind*. As ſoon as we accuſtom people to expreſs themſelves in words which they do not underſtand, it is an eaſy matter to make them ſay whatever we pleaſe.

The ſenſe of our action on other bodies, ſhould very naturally at firſt make us believe, that when they acted upon us, it muſt be in a ſimilar manner. Hence it was, that man began to animate all the whole range of beings, whoſe action he felt. Finding himſelf weaker than moſt of thoſe beings, and not knowing the extent of their power, he ſuppoſed it unlimited; and thus he made as many deities, as he found there were bodies. During the firſt ages, mankind, afraid of every object, beheld nothing inanimate in nature. The idea of matter was not leſs ſlow in forming, than that of ſpirit, ſince even the former is alſo an abſtract idea. Thus they filled the univerſe with corporeal deities.

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deities. The ſtars, the winds, the mountains, rivers, trees, towns, and even the houſes themſelves; all had their ſoul, their god, their life. The monkies of Laban, the Manitou of the ſavages, the Fetiches of the negroes, all the works of nature and of man, have been the firſt divinities of mortals. Polytheiſm was their firſt religion, and idolatry their primitive worſhip. They were not capable of arriving at the knowledge of the unity of God, till rendering their ideas more general, they were enabled to aſcend to the firſt cauſe, to unite the whole ſyſtem of beings under a ſingle idea, and to give a meaning to the word *ſubſtance*, which indeed is the greateſt of all abſtractions. Every child who believes in God, muſt therefore be an idolater, or at leaſt an anthropomorphite; and when once the imagination has ſeen, the underſtanding ſeldom conceives, a deity. Such is the error into which Mr. Locke's method naturally leads us.

Having aſcended, I know not in what manner, as far as the abſtract idea of ſubſtance, we plainly find, that to admit an only ſubſtance, it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe it poſſeſſed of incompatible qualities, which mutually exclude each other, ſuch as thought and extenſion, one of which is eſſentially diviſible, and the other excludes all diviſibility. We moreover perceive, that thought, or, if you will, ſentiment, is a primitive quality inſeparable from the ſubſtance to which it belongs; that the ſame may be ſaid of extenſion, in regard to ſubſtance. From whence we conclude, that the beings which loſe one of theſe qualities, loſe alſo the ſubſtance to which it belongs; conſequently, that death is no more than a ſeparation of ſubſtances; and that the beings, in which theſe two qualities are united, are compoſed of the two ſubſtances, to which theſe two qualities appertain.

Now conſider what an immenſe diſtance ſtill remains between the notion of theſe two ſubſtances, and

and that of the divine nature; between the incomprehenſible idea of the action of the ſoul on the body, and that of the action of the Deity on all created beings. How is it poſſible to preſent the ideas of the divine attributes, ſuch as thoſe of a creating and annihilating power, of ubiquity, eternity, omnipotence, which ſo few are capable of forming, confuſed and indiſtinct as they are, and in which the vulgar, notwithſtanding, perceive no obſcurity, becauſe they know nothing at all about the matter; how is it poſſible, I ſay, to preſent theſe ideas in all their force, that is, in all their obſcurity, to young people ſtill employed in the firſt operations of the ſenſes, and who have no conception but of what they feel? In vain is the abyſs of infinity thrown open before us; it cannot frighten a child; his feeble capacity cannot form any idea of its unfathomable depth. Every thing is infinite in regard to children; they can ſet bounds to nothing; not that their meaſure is very long, but that their underſtanding is extremely ſhort. I have even obſerved, that they place infinity rather within, than without the dimenſions known to them. They eſtimate an immenſe ſpace, more by their feet than by their eyes; it does not extend farther than they can ſee, but farther than they are able to go. If you ſpeak to them of the divine power, they fancy he is almoſt as ſtrong as their father. Their preſent knowledge being in regard to them the meaſure of poſſibilities, they apprehend what is told them to be leſs than what they know. Such are the judgments natural to the ignorant, and to weak underſtandings. Ajax was afraid to enter the liſts with Achilles, and yet challenged Jupiter, becauſe he knew the proweſs of Achilles, and not the omnipotence of Jove. A perſon having endeavoured to explain the idea of a king to a Swiſs peaſant, who thought himſelf the richeſt man

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man in the world, the peaſant aſked him with an inſolent air, whether a king could have a hundred cows grazing upon the mountains?

I am aware the reader will be ſurprized to find me attending my pupil throughout the firſt ſtage of life, without mentioning a word of religion. At fifteen he was ignorant that he had a ſoul, and perhaps at eighteen it will not be yet time for him to be informed of it; for if he learns it too ſoon, he runs a riſk of never knowing it at all.

Were I to exhibit a ſcene of diſagreeable ſtupidity, it would be that of a pedant teaching children the articles of religion; and if I intended to puzzle a child, I would oblige him to explain his meaning, when he repeats his catechiſm. I ſhall be told, that moſt of the dogmas of Chriſtianity being religious myſteries, to wait till the human underſtanding is capable of conceiving them, is not waiting till the child grows, but till he is no more. To this I anſwer, in the firſt place, that there are myſteries, which it is not only impoſſible for men to conceive, but to believe; and I ſee no advantage in teaching them betime to children, except it be to learn them to tell lies. Further, I ſay, that before we admit of myſteries, we muſt at leaſt conceive them to be incomprehenſible; and children are incapable even of that idea. At an age in which every thing is myſterious, there are no myſteries properly ſo called.

We muſt believe in God, in order to be ſaved. The miſapprehenſion of this dogma, is the ſource of the bloody doctrine of perſecution, and the cauſe of all thoſe idle inſtructions, which endeavour to ſubvert human reaſon, by accuſtoming it to be ſatisfied with words. No doubt but we ought not to heſitate a moment about working out our eternal ſalvation; but if to obtain this end, it is ſufficient to repeat a certain form of words, I do not ſee what can hinder us from peopling hea-

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ven with perroquets and magpies, as well as with children.

The obligation of believing ſuppoſes the poſſibility of it. The unbelieving philoſopher is certainly in the wrong, becauſe he makes an ill uſe of the improvement of his reaſon, and is capable of underſtanding the truths which he rejects. But what does a child believe, when he profeſſes the Chriſtian religion? He can believe only what he apprehends; and ſo little does he apprehend of what you ſay to him, that if you were to tell him the contrary, he would adopt it with equal readineſs. The faith of children and of a great many men is an affair of geography. Shall they be rewarded for being born at Rome, rather than at Mecca? One is told that Mahomet is God's prophet, and he accordingly ſays that Mahomet is God's prophet; the other is told that Mahomet is an impoſtor, and he ſays alſo that Mahomet is an impoſtor. Each of thoſe two boys would affirm the contrary of what he ſays now, were he to change places. Can perſons of diſpoſitions ſo much alike, be ſent the one to heaven, and the other to hell? When a child ſays he believes in God, it is not in God he believes, but in Peter or James, who tell him there is ſomething called God, and he believes after the manner of Euripides.

——Jupiter, if his name be ſo,
For 'tis by hearſay only, that I know *.

* *Plutarch in his treatiſe of love.* This was the beginning of the tragedy of Menalippe; but the clamour of the people of Athens obliged Euripides to alter it.

Plutarch ſays, that he ſeemed to have a confidence in the lofty ſtile and elaborate eloquence of his tragedy, to venture the indignation of the deity. But finding he had drawn upon himſelf the envy of the multitude he altered it thus:

Great Jove, we own, received that ſacred name,
From truth alone, and not from common fame.
Plutarch of love, tranſlated by Mr. Philips.

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We believe that no child, who dies before he arrives at the uſe of reaſon, will be deprived of eternal happineſs; the Roman catholics believe the ſame of the children that have been baptized, though they never heard any mention of the name of God. Hence there are caſes in which it is poſſible to be ſaved without believing in God; as thoſe of infancy, or inſaneneſs, when the human mind is incapable of the operations neceſſary for coming at a knowledge of the Deity. The only difference I perceive, reader, between you and me, is that you pretend that children have this capacity when they are ſeven years old, and I do not think them to be poſſeſſed of it even at fifteen. Whether I am wrong, or not, the point in queſtion is not an article of faith, but a ſimple obſervation in natural hiſtory.

For the ſame reaſon it is very clear, that if a man grows old without believing in God, he will not, for all that, be deprived of his preſence in the other life, unleſs it be owing to voluntary blindneſs; and this I affirm not to be always the caſe. You agree with me in regard to perſons whom madneſs has deprived of their mental faculties, but not of their rank as men, and of courſe not of their right to the beneficence of their Creator. Why then ſhould not you allow the ſame with reſpect to thoſe who, being ſequeſtered from the world ever ſince their infancy, have ſpent a ſavage life, deprived of all ſuch knowledge as is acquired only by human converſe*? For it is evidently impoſſible that ſuch a ſavage could ever raiſe his reflections ſo high as the knowledge of the true God. Reaſon informs us, that man is puniſhable only for voluntary miſtakes, and that nothing done under the circum-

* Concerning the natural ſtate and ſlow progreſs of the human underſtanding, ſee the firſt part of my diſcourſe on the inequality of mankind.

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ſtance of invincible ignorance can be imputed to him as a crime. From whence it follows, that in the eye of the divine juſtice, every man who would believe, had he the neceſſary inſtructions, is reputed to believe, and there will be none puniſhed for incredulity, but thoſe whom wilful blindneſs has debarred from ſeeing the truth.

Let us avoid divulging the truth to thoſe, who are incapable of underſtanding it; for this would be to ſubſtitute an error in its place. It would be much better to have no idea at all of God, than to entertain ſuch notions as are mean, fantaſtical, injurious and unworthy of the divine Majeſty; for it is a leſs evil not to know him, than to offer him an affront. I had rather, ſaid honeſt Plutarch, that people would believe there was no ſuch perſon as Plutarch in the world, than that they ſhould ſay, he is unjuſt, envious, jealous, and in his diſpoſition ſo great a tyrant, as to exact more of people than they are able to perform.

The greateſt inconveniency ariſing from thoſe hideous repreſentations of the Deity, exhibited to the minds of children, is that they are not effaced during their whole lives; and when they grow up to men's eſtate, they have the ſame conceptions of God, as when they were children. I knew a very worthy woman in Swiſſerland, who was ſo fully convinced of the truth of this maxim, that ſhe would not teach her ſon his catechiſm during his infancy, leſt he ſhould be content with thoſe crude notions, and neglect to acquire a better inſtruction, when he attained the uſe of reaſon. This child never heard the name of God mentioned, but with awe and reverence; and whenever he attempted to ſpeak of him, was immediately ſilenced, as if the ſubject were too grand and too ſublime for his comprehenſion. This reſerve excited his curioſity: and his pride made him wiſh for the time of knowing this myſtery, which

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was ſo carefully concealed from him. The leſs they ſpoke to him of God, and the leſs they ſuffered him to mention his name, the more this unknown being was the object of his thoughts. The child ſaw God wherever he went; but the danger I apprehend from carrying on this myſterious diſguiſe too far, would be the overheating of a young man's imagination, ſo as to turn his brain, and at length to make him a fanatic, inſtead of a believer.

But we need be under no ſuch apprehenſion for my Emilius, who conſtantly refuſes his attention to every thing above his capacity, and ſhews the greateſt indifference to ſubjects he does not underſtand. There are ſo many on which he is accuſtomed to ſay, "This is no affair of mine," that one more would give him no great trouble; and when he begins to intereſt himſelf in theſe important queſtions, it is not becauſe he has heard them mentioned, but his intellectual improvement leads him to thoſe enquiries.

We have ſeen by what method the human mind, with due cultivation, approaches theſe myſteries; and I am ready to grant you, that it does not naturally arrive at this knowledge, even in the midſt of ſociety, till at a more advanced period of life. But as there are in ſociety inevitable cauſes, which forward the progreſs of the paſſions, if the progreſs of knowledge, which ſerves to regulate thoſe paſſions, was not accelerated in the ſame manner, then indeed, ſhould we depart from the natural order, and the equilibrium would be ſubverted. When we are not our own maſters to check the rapidity of a growing paſſion, we ſhould endeavour to forward thoſe faculties, which ſerve to counterbalance it; ſo that the order of the whole be not inverted; that thoſe which ought to move in conjunction, be not ſeparated; and that man being the ſame individual every

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every moment of his life, ſhould not be advanced to a certain point by one of his faculties, and to a different by the reſt.

What a difficulty do I ſee here riſing againſt me! a difficulty ſo much the greater, as it conſiſts leſs in the thing itſelf, than in the puſillanimity of thoſe who dare not reſolve it: let us begin at leaſt with venturing to propoſe it.... Every child ought to be brought up in his father's religion; it is always proved to him, that this, be it what it will, is the only true religion, and that all the others are extravagant and abſurd. The force of arguments, in this reſpect, depends abſolutely on the country in which they are propoſed. Let a Turk, who finds Chriſtianity ſo ridiculous at Conſtantinople, go and ſee in what manner the Koran is treated at Paris. It is chiefly in matters of religion that opinion rides triumphant. But we who pretend to ſhake off its yoke on all occaſions, who want to pay no deference to authority, and who deſire to teach our Emilius nothing but what he may learn by himſelf in every country whatever; in what religion ſhall we educate him? To what ſect ſhall we unite the man of nature? The anſwer is, I think, very plain; we ſhall unite him to none of them, but enable him to chuſe that, to which the beſt uſe of his reaſon will direct him.

Incedo per ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo. Hor. lib. 2. Od. 1.

——I incautious tread
On fires, with faithleſs embers overſpread.
Mr. Francis.

It does not ſignify; my zeal and ſincerity have hitherto ſerved me inſtead of prudence. Theſe ſecurities, I hope, will not abandon me in time of neceſſity. Reader, do not expect from me any precautions unworthy a friend to truth. I ſhall never loſe

loſe ſight of my motto; but ſurely, I may be permitted to miſtruſt my own judgment. Inſtead of telling you my ſentiments on this occaſion, I will lay before you the thoughts of a man of much greater authority than myſelf. I warrant the truth of the facts which I am going to relate; they really happened to the author of the paper here tranſcribed; it is your buſineſs to ſee whether you can draw any inferences from thence, that may be of uſe to you upon the preſent ſubject. I do not propoſe either the opinion of another, or my own, to you for a rule; I only ſubmit it to your inquiry.

The End of the First Volume.

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